

GLOBALISED MINDS, ROOTS IN THE CITY

Urban Upper-Middle Classes
in Europe

Alberta Andreotti, Patrick Le Galès
and Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes



WILEY Blackwell

'This book bravely takes on some of the key issues agitating sociology – the value of classical sociological categories in a more transnational, mobile and cosmopolitan urban world; the socio-spatial consequences of recent transformations in capitalism; and the continued relevance, or not, of historical trajectories. The result is a wonderful, well researched, scholarly addition to these literatures that finally brings them all together. The book demonstrates the real value of deep empirical investigation in dislodging a priori but pervasive representations of class in the city.'

— **Loretta Lees, Professor of Human Geography, University of Leicester**

'This brilliant book is a much needed contribution, as it moves ongoing conversations about globalization and its effects to a whole new level of theoretical sophistication and empirical rigor. Through a meticulous and detailed examination of evidence, the authors reveal how and to what extent the European upper middle class has become transnational (the answer: less than predicted by speculating social theorists). This powerful contribution will certainly leave its mark on the study of contemporary inequality, transnationalism, spatial transformations, and social change in European societies.'

— **Michele Lamont, Harvard University**

'Many social theorists have become enamoured with the idea that a global capitalist class has emerged and with it, a new global society. The agents of this process are assumed to live nowhere and have allegiance to no one but themselves. This wonderful book skewers these arguments by actually talking to people who appear to be this vanguard (managers having lived and worked abroad in four European cities) and reporting how they feel, act, and think, about the places where they live. Suffice it to say, the evidence for these broad claims is lacking. The image one gets is of a European upper middle class, one whose transnationalism is restricted in time and space to Europe. As such, their values and behavior are similar to middle class people everywhere. They like the variety and tradition of the places they live and want to preserve it, but at the same time value the freedom of modern life whereby people can pursue opportunity and live enlightened lives.'

— **Neil Fligstein, Department of Sociology, University of California**

'This stunning comparative study offers the most sensitive and systematic analysis yet of the ongoing role of the city in the hearts and minds of the European upper middle classes. In refuting simplistic arguments about the rise of global mobility, it demonstrates the appeal of the urban in the lives of privileged social groups. A compelling analysis which must be read by all urban scholars and all those interested in class and inequality.'

— **Mike Savage, Martin White Professor of Sociology, Head of Department, LSE**

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GLOBALISED **M**INDS, **R**ROOTS IN **T**HE **C**CITY

URBAN **U**PPER-**M**MIDDLE **C**CLASSES
IN **E**UROPE

Alberta Andreotti,
Patrick Le Galès and
Francisco Javier Moreno-Fuentes

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Series Editors' Preface

The Wiley Blackwell *Studies in Urban and Social Change* series is published in association with the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. It aims to advance theoretical debates and empirical analyses stimulated by changes in the fortunes of cities and regions across the world. Among topics taken up in past volumes and welcomed for future submissions are:

- connections between economic restructuring and urban change;
- urban divisions, difference and diversity;
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Jenny Robinson, Manuel Aalbers, Dorothee Brantz,
Patrick Le Galès, Chris Pickvance, Ananya Roy and Fulong Wu

Preface

Comparative research is a fascinating endeavour, but it takes time to get funding, to work on categories, to understand each other's societies, to design a common questionnaire, to deal with the interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data in four cities in three countries, to visit and gain an understanding of 16 neighbourhoods, and to write with six hands in a common language that is not the mother tongue of any of us. With these preemptive justifications, we can see how the research and the book took eight years to be finished.

The research started at Sciences Po when Alberta Andreotti and Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes spent some time as post-docs within the European Research and Training Network UrbEurope financed by the EU. It was led by Enzo Mingione and Yuri Kazepov and brought together seven universities. Enzo and Yuri have always encouraged us during the research and drafting of the book, providing critical comments at different stages of the process.

Together with François Bonnet, at that time a promising PhD candidate, we worked on a project that was initially financed by the research branch of the French ministry of infrastructure, the Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture. We acknowledge the support of Anne Querrien, Evelyne Perrin, Nicole Rousier and most crucially François Menard, for their support, the funds, the seminars they run and their interest in our research. The first analyses of the data came out as a Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture report in 2008 (*Les cadres supérieurs et la globalisation, Mobilité, ancrage, ségrégation et exit partiel dans les villes européennes. Une enquête exploratoire*). The report was written with the help of François Bonnet and the support of Odile Gautier-Voituriez, who helped in many respects. Gina Sandanassamy was, as usual, great in helping us deal with managing the budget.

On top of these European and French funds, we aggregated various sources of money from Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) in Madrid, from Milan-Bicocca and from Sciences Po, where our research group 'Cities are back in town' benefited from the resources made available by Bruno Latour and the administrative infrastructure from the Centre d'Etudes Européennes. We thank Bruno Latour, Renaud Dehousse and the Centre d'Etudes Européennes's administrative staff, Linda Amrani, Sophie Jacquot, Samia Saadi and Katia Rio, for their help. Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes and Patrick Le Galès obtained some resources from the Picasso

Spanish–French research cooperation scheme, and we thank them profusely for this as well. We also thank our colleagues and staff at Institute of Public Goods and Policies at the CSIC in Madrid, as well as at the department of Sociology of the university of Milan-Bicocca for support and insights. Patrick Le Galès also acknowledges the support of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne. Final revisions of chapters were carried out while he was a scholar in Residence in Cologne at the invitation of Jens Beckert and Wolfgang Streeck.

Our first thanks goes to the 480 managers from four different cities in three different countries who kindly agreed to spend some of their scarce time talking to us about their personal and professional trajectories, and often reflecting with us about life and its complexities. Without their availability and generosity, this research would not have been possible.

Carrying out nearly 500 face-to-face interviews requires quite a bit of logistics, and it was only thanks to the help of many colleagues and institutions who collaborated, in one way or another, in this project that it was at all possible. Viviane Le Hay was central to helping us design the quantitative part of the research, and the framework for the data analysis, while Alberta Andreotti remained in charge of the design of the network analysis. Vincent Tiberj checked questions on values and made the connections with European Social Survey surveys. Patrick Le Galès started the initial stages of the research by designing the questionnaire with Alberta Andreotti and François Bonnet for the Parisian case. He supervised the Paris case and worked in Le Vésinet. Alberta Andreotti conducted the interviews in the 10th arrondissement of Paris, while Brigitte Fouilland, in charge of the urban masters at Sciences Po, worked in the 15th arrondissement. Charlotte Halpern and Julie Pollard dealt with the 17th arrondissement. Barbara De Roit and Stefania Sabatinelli (who came to Paris as PhD candidates and post-docs also within the Research and Training Network-UrbEurope project) both conducted interviews in Fontenay Sous Bois. Mathieu Zagrodski helped to complete some interviews and coded a large part of the survey data. In Lyon, François Bonnet led a team of young researchers in conducting the interviews. We also like to thank Hugo Bertillot (Sciences Po) for the interviews in this city.

The research in Milan was performed under the supervision of Alberta Andreotti, and several people collaborated very actively in the process of generating the interviews in that city. Thus, Chiara Respi conducted the interviews in Vimercate; Mariagrazia Gambardella, Roberta Bosisio, Marco Pizzoni and Laura Boschetti conducted the interviews in the city centre of Milan and Lorenteggio; and Adele Falbo together with Alessandra Armellin conducted the interviews in Arese. We thank the Fondazione Bignaschi for logistic and administrative support during this process. We would also like to thank ManagerItalia, and in particular Marisa Montegiove and Gianpaolo Bossini, for their help in finding managers to interview. The alumni association of the Politecnico di Milano, the Comune di Milano (in particular Maria Luisa Cavallazzi), the Attività Educative e Supporto Pedagogico, Settore Servizi all'Infanzia and the General Director of the Comune di Vimercate all helped us in different ways and capacities in the complex process of finding managers to include in our sample.

The case study of Madrid was carried out by Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes, with the support of a group of young colleagues who conducted interviews with managers from the four neighbourhoods included in this case. Thus, María José Mateo Risueño, Pilar Moreno Vera, María Garrote de Marcos and José Fernández Núñez conducted a series of interviews, and 'Andaira', a cooperative of sociologists

(including Ariadna de la Rubia Rodríguez, Nuria Sánchez Díaz and Beatriz Garde Lobo), conducted another big chunk of interviews. As in the other cases, contacting managers that would fit the profile we were searching for, and who would be willing to participate in this initiative, constituted one of the biggest challenges of the research. In this respect, the collaboration of a series of institutions was central. We must particularly thank the alumni association of the ESADE Business School, the alumni association of the La Caixa scholarships and the Colegio de Ingenieros de Caminos, Canales y Puertos of Madrid. They did a great job at mobilising their members and asking for volunteers to participate in this initiative, a call to which many of their members generously answered.

In addition to being a close friend and a wonderful intellectual colleague, Edmond Préteceille provided us with early and crucial methodological and theoretical advice, and inspired us with his great typology of neighbourhoods in Paris. He is one of the most sophisticated comparative urban sociologists of the time, and it has been a luxury to count on his support. The project was also very much influenced by a rich interaction and intellectual exchange with Michael Savage. His book *Globalisation and Belonging*, written together with Bagnall and Longhurst, has been a constant source of inspiration and reference for us. While he was a Visiting Professor at Sciences Po, at the same time that Alberta and Francisco Javier were there, his comments were very important for the launch of the project. We published our first piece about this research in the book *Networked Urbanism* he edited with Talja Blockland.

Tim Butler, has been a constant intellectual support for this project, and he shared with us his questionnaires, his data on London, many references, good ideas and jokes. As a regular Visiting Professor at Sciences Po from King's College London, where he is normally based, he, more than anybody else, has witnessed the ups and downs of this project. Adrian Favell, then at UCLA, was another source of intellectual inspiration and support for us. His book 'Eurostars and Eurocities' constitutes, in many ways, the other side of the coin of the social phenomenon we are studying, so we greatly benefited from discussions with him about methods, references and concepts to develop our research. Now at Sciences Po, Adrian has also greatly helped us during the final stages of writing the book.

Neil Fligstein and Juan Díez Medrano, together with Jurgen Gerhards, Ettore Recchi, Steffen Mau and Virginie Guiraudon, constitute a new generation of sociologist aiming at thinking and developing research about the making of elements of a European society, and they were a constant reference for us. We were fortunate to participate in some of their research endeavours, and to publish a chapter in Favell and Guiraudon's volume on the *Sociology of the European Union*.

Once a first draft of this book was completed, we asked a group of colleagues to read it and to spend a day with us giving us feedback on our work. They provided us with plenty of comments and suggestions that greatly helped us to restructure the book. We must therefore explicitly thank Thomas Aguilera, Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Tim Butler, Bruno Cousin, Juan Díez Medrano, Antoine Jardin, Enzo Mingione, Marco Oberti, Edmond Préteceille and Tommaso Vitale for participating in that meeting and for providing us with insightful criticisms and constructive ideas on how to improve our book. In the final stages of drafting this volume, Adrian Favell, Tim Butler, Mike Savage and two anonymous referees gave excellent insights and suggestions on how to polish the manuscript, so we did our best to take their comments into consideration. We are particularly grateful to Chris Pickvance who did a careful detailed review of

the original manuscript. On top this, with the second version, he provided us with key insights and suggestions that were crucial for the revision. We are very grateful for his great comments.

During the drafting of the book, we worked closely with Melanie Mauthner, who has done a systematic rewriting of our three types of 'continental European English'. She has been wonderful to work with, and the book owes much to her quiet perseverance and hard work. Thanks to Camille Alle, who reviewed and completed the bibliography. We are also very grateful to Marianna D'Ovidio and the GIS Laboratory of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales-CSIC for their help in drawing the maps of the neighbourhoods and cities included in our research. Jacqueline Scott, from Wiley-Blackwell, and Jenny Robinson, the series editor, have to be specially thanked for their patience and support during this extremely long production process.

Different papers related to this research project were presented in seminars and conferences at different stages of completion, within our own research centres (at CSIC in Madrid, the University of Milan-Bicocca and Sciences Po at the Centre d'Etudes Européennes). We were also fortunate to be invited to present part of the research in different contexts, and we would like to thank colleagues from the Groupement De Recherches cadres (Olivier Cousin), Centre for European Studies and the inequalities programme at Harvard, King's College London, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne, the Sociology Department of the University of Delhi, the Department of Sociology II of the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, the CIIMU in Barcelona and the Sociology Department at Columbia University's conference on elites for giving us the opportunity to present our work and discuss with them our findings.

The Research Committee 21 (urban and regional research) from the International Sociological Association was, as always, a major resource to present our research. Particularly useful in that context were the comments at the session run by Paul Watt at the 2010 Goteborg Conference. Our research was also presented at the French Sociological Association meeting in Bordeaux (Urban Sociology), at the annual meeting of the Council of European Studies in Montreal and Madrid, at the Society for Advanced Socio Economics in Paris and during a session of Agnes Van Zanten's workshop on elites. The research was also presented in a session of the Successful Society Program from CIFAR, led by Peter Hall and Michèle Lamont, as well as in seminars at the universities of Manchester, Maynooth (Ireland), Ca' Foscari at Venezia, Princeton, Humboldt in Berlin and Tonji in Shanghai. We thank all the colleagues who participated in those events for their comments.

Introduction: Globalisation and the Coming Age of New Barbarians? Upper-Middle Classes in European Cities

Amused and inspired by his former students at the London Business School, Angell wrote the ‘The New Barbarian Manifesto’ in the early 2000s, identifying an emerging class of transnational mobile rational actors taking advantage of collective goods and services in the places where they lived.¹ They did not invest resources, did not commit to local places and were going private and temporary for as many services as possible, except when they could benefit at no cost from the public provision of good services. Long live the free high-tech nomad riders, he argued! And good riddance to the old world of irrelevant institutions and states. The quick, well trained will survive, while the others will become poor or die. Not shy of a provocation, that book may be read as a compilation of tricks to survive the information age in an increasingly globalised world, and aimed at young and aspiring middle classes working in the financial and high-tech sectors. The free-rider spirit promoted by Angell encourages those groups to make money while undermining existing social structures, states, taxation systems and old national elites.

Beyond the futurist high-tech rhetoric and apology for the new barbarian, the book raises a fundamental question for contemporary social sciences: to what extent do transnational mobilities associated with globalisation trends erode national societies and provide incentives for individuals to maximise their interests at the expense of institutions, collective organisations, families, states, religions and social or ethnic groups? Does mobility make the old ideas of societies obsolete, as famously suggested by John Urry (2000)? Is a new ‘cosmopolitan society’ in the making, to use the words of Ulrich Beck thereby destroying classic understandings of belonging, settlement, embeddedness, rootedness and nation states? And what about cities? They are the natural recipients of transnational immigration, poor and rich alike, and some of them are characterised by ‘super diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007). Do networks and circulation destroy old ideas of identity, urbanity and social rootedness in the city, thus giving more support to ideas of a fluid ‘post metropolis’ (Soja, 2000)? Or does this just reveal old tricks from the elites of a globalised financial capitalism where mobility legitimates the making of a

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transnational bourgeoisie escaping the constraints (such as paying taxes) of the nation states (Sklair, 2000)? These are some of the questions we address in this book, discussed from a particular stance, that of upper-middle classes living in Lyon, Madrid, Milan and Paris. If change is taking place, via mobility dynamics radically transforming societies and cities, then south-western Europe is an interesting case to explore.

How are European societies and cities changing in relation to globalisation? Is Angell's 'new barbarian' the archetype of the upper-middle-class resident of European cities? The starting point of this book is, in fact, a puzzle over the apparently slow making of post-national societies in Europe. Individuals and groups are certainly becoming more mobile across the globe: migrants and expatriates constitute a significantly visible group of the population, and transnational practices seem to be increasingly present in citizens' everyday practices. Nevertheless, although those processes make sense for Western European cities, they do not seem to have radically altered the structure and patterns of use of public services, the social interactions, mobility practices or the residential strategies of European upper-middle classes. For instance, despite the European Commission's efforts to relentlessly promote the free movement of European citizens as part of the single market for capital, goods, services and people, the statistics keep showing that Europeans do not move that much: only 1.5–2% of Europeans from the EU-15 countries move each year to another country, a relatively low (and slowly increasing) figure over time.

This book investigates the role of urban upper-middle classes in the transformations experienced by contemporary European societies, and it links our analysis to debates on the emergence of a transnational bourgeoisie. Three main questions structure this analysis:

- The rise of transnational mobilities and/or transactions may produce social differentiation processes and play a role in restructuring the social order and social hierarchies within national societies, creating new inequalities. Is a new European managerial class in the making in the European metropolis in relation to European/global processes? Do transnationalisation processes transform national social orders and hierarchies?
- Do upper-middle classes become barbarians in the cities they inhabit? Do they pursue secession and privatisation strategies? Do they abandon public spaces and avoid interactions with other social and ethnic groups? Do they congregate in upper-middle-class enclaves?
- Can we find a stratum of upper or middle classes in European cities who take particular advantage of mobility to put into practice strategies of 'exit' or 'partial exit' with respect to their nation state? Is there a pattern of growing social differentiation emerging?

Jacques Donzelot (1999) and Marie-Christine Jaillet (1999) put forward the argument of the 'secession of the middle classes', claiming that urban upper-middle classes are increasingly oriented towards privatised and individualised lifestyles in relation to the public space and public welfare services, avoiding mixing with lower social classes as a way to try to maintain their social status. Based upon the empirical evidence generated in our research, this book argues that European urban upper-middle classes are certainly becoming more cosmopolitan, partially 'exiting' from their national society while remaining locally rooted and skilfully playing a complex game of distance and

proximity with regard to other social groups in their urban environments. But they also invest resources in the cities and neighbourhoods where they live and only look for social secession or gated-communities strategies in very specific contexts. The managers interviewed in this research remain in control of the social and spatial distance they keep with diverse social and ethnic groups living in their areas of residence. These upper-middle classes therefore have a globalised mind but remain firmly rooted in their local urban environments, where they belong to dense networks of friends and family, and where they invest in the functioning of the local social and political sphere.

Globalisation, Transnationalism and Mobility in European Cities

The rise of modern nation states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries paved the way for powerful processes of nationalisation and differentiation of European societies through urbanisation, industrialisation, wars and public policies (infrastructure building, education, welfare states, labour markets, etc.; Therborn, 1995, 2009). Following Max Weber, Stefano Bartolini (2005) suggests that the making of national societies relied on two main mechanisms: the closure of borders and the creation of stronger interdependencies within each society. The first mechanism aimed at preventing external influences to play a role in the making of the national social and political order. National elites tried to prevent transnational forces, such as religious organisations (Catholics in France, for instance), international socialist movements or international capitalists, from playing a structuring role in their national society. The second mechanism intended to create interdependences between different (class and status) groups to reinforce feelings of belonging to the nation.

European societies are, in fact, deeply territorialised because of the tradition of a stable peasantry tilling the land (Mendras, 1997), and the long history of medium-sized cities, particularly those running through the north-to-south heartland of the continent, from the Low Countries to northern Italy (Kaelble, 1990). Britain, where industrialisation shaped the urban structure more than anywhere else, is a major exception in this respect. Weber's analysis of the Western city already highlighted these points, and numerous historians have argued about the long-term stability of European urban structures, the interconnection of cities across the continent through trade and other forms of interaction (Pinol, 2003). Modern Europe has thus largely emerged from the developing relationship of a longstanding structure of cities, followed by the later emergent nation states, a process famously studied by Tilly (1990). In this history, cities managed to retain a certain degree of autonomy from nation states, a feature that might be recurring in a world where nation states are, at least partly, eroding.

The development of an increasingly global interconnection between societies and markets, and the supposed dilution of nation state boundaries as the central actor in social, economic and political international arenas are often depicted as the most important phenomena reshaping the world in unpredictable, and still not fully understood, ways. While nation-state borders are supposed to have traditionally played a central role in increasing the density of intra-national communications, globalisation processes allow for new and unprecedented levels of across-border interconnectedness between individuals and societies. These processes imply a potential transformation of social relations and transactions, with ever-increasing cross-border interactions, and the emergence of transnational social spaces.

In this context, sociologists have identified the need to re-conceptualise sociology beyond traditional approaches of *spatial* and *social mobility*, towards a much broader range of *mobilities* that would characterise late modern societies under increasingly globalised conditions (Urry, 2000). Adopting those approaches, sociology should abandon its national territory bias, and focus on the study of circulations, contingency and flows (Beck, 1999). Other authors claim that strategies of individuals and collective actors are being reshaped on a global scale and that neither the nation state nor the European Union constitutes the most adequate level of analytical reference for the social sciences anymore (Giddens, 1994). Cultural practices, images, representations, social movements (especially those devoted to environmental and human-rights issues with a global agenda) and of course capitalism itself (or at least the vanguard forces leading the way) are said to have become disembedded from the nation state, and global society has already become the new level for structuring major cultural and social conflicts of interest (Appadurai, 1996).

The degree of cross-border interactions between individuals, institutions and societies has certainly increased quite significantly in the last few decades, but there is consistent empirical evidence showing that those exchanges are, to a large extent, geographically and socially concentrated, and that cross-border interactions are not necessarily global in character (Mau *et al.*, 2008). Following that line of thought, the literature on transnationalism² tends to contradict the most simplistic interpretations of the consequences of globalisation. The nation state is not becoming irrelevant in the processes of framing, restricting and encouraging individuals' actions. This approach focuses on the study of those social practices and activities that induce and facilitate individuals, groups, organisations and networks to establish links across the boundaries of national societies, assuming that both global and national dynamics shape people's life-world in an interactive manner. In fact, some of these *mobilities*, which are a growing feature of European citizens' everyday lives, do not even require moving residence, living or working in another country (the 'transnationalisation of the immobile', as Mau *et al.* put it).

Mobility surely is a formidable force of social change and should be understood as such. But mobility is not just an exhilarating experience and may in fact have very serious costs associated with it. Authors studying the importance of cosmopolitan trends tend to emphasise a more fluid view of societies, with less rigid social relations and hierarchies, attracting the fierce critique of many, including Harvey's (2009) statement equating cosmopolitanism with neo-liberalism and the class project of the new capitalist travelling elites. Indeed, as Therborn (2011) reminds us, there are no a priori reasons for this: blurring hierarchies and destabilised social orders should not lead us to forget about enduring or new inequalities in the making, and the specific interest of certain mobile middle classes or new bourgeoisies. Calhoun's (2002) ironic critique of the view of the world put forward by travelling academics appears as a clear reminder of this risk.

Does Globalisation Induce 'Exit' Strategies?

Decades of Europeanisation, and the multiple effects of globalisation processes, are changing the lens through which social scientists understand European societies beyond the nation state and how individuals feel part of the societies in which they

live. National societies and nation states continue to play a crucial role, but increasing mobility and changing scales have strongly eroded the previously mentioned integrative mechanisms conceptualised by Bartolini (2005).

Cross-border influences are increasingly salient in many societies, and groups and individuals have more opportunities to be mobile at different levels, potentially contributing to the emergence of a transnational society. The development of transnational practices is a factor of social change. Society is seen as the result of the interconnection of flows of people, goods, money and services that are generated from those cross-border practices. One of the most important effect of the development of these transnational trends, or of the emergence of a global society as it is often defined, is the de-territorialisation affecting both individuals and organisations. This process seems to strain and weaken both national societies and local communities, in favour of a more global sense of belonging. In this framework, mobility can be conceptualised as a new form of social cleavage, a new asset potentially generating new social inequalities (Castells, 1996; Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1999).

Mobile individuals may threaten national and local social cohesion, as they can bypass national and local constraints in order to obtain greater (collective or individual) benefits. This means that social groups and individuals within the nation state are less interdependent on each other than at any point in the modern past. De-territorialised individuals may develop weaker attachments and commitments to place and to others within the community where they live, something that can have huge implications at the collective level, clearly affecting the way societies function.

Using Hirschman's famous 'exit, voice and loyalty' conceptual framework, Bartolini (2005) argues that making different social groups more interdependent had been a way to raise voice and loyalty within each national society, at the expense of exit in the modern period of consolidation of nation-state societies. Within this framework, cities were progressively integrated in the national political order, and individuals strongly embedded in national societies.

According to Hirschman's (1970) classic typology of individual strategies within organisations, members who do not agree with the way things are run can choose between 'voicing' their dissent, 'exiting' in search of a more favourable environment for their interests or staying loyal/passive. Applied to the socio-political institutional logic of a world order organised around nation states, Hirschman's model implies that if individuals are unhappy in their national society, or cannot achieve their goals while living there, they may choose to 'exit' from their nation state (and leave for another country to escape constraints or to find a job, for instance). The basic neo-classical economic theory accounting for international migration is based on the push-pull factor that explains migratory flows by focusing on the differences of capital and labour availability in the sending and receiving countries (Massey *et al.*, 1993). This is quite similar to Hirschman's conceptual framework: individuals quit their country of origin owing to a combination of factors directly related to wage differentials that create powerful incentive structures for them to envision a more promising future in a foreign country. The same can be said about expatriates, indeed this is a euphemism to refer to migration flows emanating from developed countries. People choose to become mobile and 'exit' their country of origin with the objective of improving their living conditions, and pursue their personal and collective (family/community) goals and objectives, which they consider will be better served by moving abroad.

In practice, the 'exit' option remains relatively rare in Europe, for, as Favell (2008) has shown, it often involves considerable personal costs (even with formal barriers to free movement within the EU significantly reduced when compared with other forms of international mobility). Faced with the complexity and relatively high costs associated with the most intense form of mobility (complete 'exit' through emigration to another country), individuals may choose to develop 'partial exit' strategies from their national societies (i.e. to exit in order to return or to 'exit' in some domains but not others). This 'partial exit' may take the form of a limited 'exit' to a foreign country for a certain period of time to accumulate experience, skills and/or resources (foreign languages, degrees, professional experience or qualifications, etc.) before going back to their home country. It may also describe regular trips to foreign countries for professional or personal reasons to strengthen their networks abroad. 'Partial exit' may indicate that some dimensions of their personal or social life are transnationalised: owning property in a foreign country, sending their children to an international school or university or avoiding public services in their hometown (i.e. health services). In terms of consumption, friendships, job strategies, media exposure or financial investment, 'partial exit' is therefore not a definitive or complete form of 'exit' from their national society, but rather a way of diversifying their networks and spheres of interaction with the objective of maximising their interests and objectives in ways that would be difficult to achieve by resorting exclusively to the institutions and socio-economic contexts of their national society. In return, the aggregation of those individual 'partial exit' strategies may have important consequences for national societies.

The opportunity for 'partial exit' allows individuals to (re)-negotiate their own position within the national social structure, for example, to protest against or escape high levels of taxation, place personal wealth outside the nation state and actively campaign for a reform of the educational or health systems. Individuals can also choose to 'exit' from one dimension and not from another, creating a complex mix of choices that has to be analysed at different *scales*: local, national, European or transnational/global. Individuals can, for example, 'exit' from national health-care systems but engage ('voice') in the local *place*, being it the city or the neighbourhood.

These ideas constitute promising avenues for research, highlighting the importance of the mobility question for both the social structure of national societies, and individual actors' life strategies (Kennedy, 2010). Empirically, however, transnational mobility is not so widespread in the European continental context. Instead of focusing solely on transnational mobility, and studying disembodied individuals travelling the world and seeing their family through Skype, this book starts with the assumption that, in order to assess social change related to mobility, it is necessary to study both the dynamics of mobility *and* those of rootedness. The mobility and 'partial exit' experiences of individuals make sense in relation to the fixity of their place of residence (states, cities and neighbourhoods) to rootedness.

Mobility and the Weakening of Local Ties in the Urban Context

An emerging sociology of globalisation emphasises the dynamics of mobility and the strong differentiation process taking place between those whose life is rooted in a particular place (a neighbourhood, a city and/or a country) and those who (in one way or another) experience mobility as an integral part of their daily lives and practices.

City residents are at the forefront of those developments, and urban studies are replete with analyses of the interdependence, circulation and transfers of individuals, as well as among networks of cities. Trade and connections were always part of the constitution of urban spaces, but in the current context of social, political and economic integration at the global level, cities, metropolises and urban regions are becoming more than ever a mixture of '*des lieux et des liens*' (of places and links), as Veltz (2012) puts it. In order to understand the dynamics of change (mobility and fixity), it is possible to cross-reference the possible 'exit' and 'partial exit' strategies from national society, with strategies of rootedness and/or segregation at the local urban level. This research aims at identifying social differentiation processes by distinguishing urban dynamics of rootedness, on the one hand, from 'partial exit' strategies from national society, on the other.

On reflection, introducing the spatial dimension in the analysis of the functioning of class dynamics in contemporary societies ought to be essential, considering how important the territorial dimension is in European societies. Following earlier work by urban sociologists, Ray Pahl and Herbert Gans, Michael Savage has identified what he called the 'missing spatial dimension' of class analysis in the UK, in particular in the social-stratification literature (Recchi and Favell, 2009). Within urban sociology, numerous studies on gentrification and suburbanisation (in the UK, USA and Australia, in particular) identified socio-spatial dynamics of social mobility, exclusion or inequalities in these terms (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). In France, the dynamics of middle and lower-middle classes working in the public sector were also shown to be deeply rooted within particular types of regions and cities. The local analysis of class is also relatively well rooted in the Italian (Bagnasco and Negri, 1994; Bagnasco, 2008) and Spanish sociological traditions (Leal Maldonado, 1997).

The notion of 'elective belonging' developed by Savage and colleagues (2005) also builds upon a long tradition in sociology (Goldthorpe *et al.*, 1969) that emphasises the spatial dimension of class-identity formation. As Savage suggests, 'elective belonging' strategies play a very important role in the process of 'social location' for social classes, something quite significant in a context in which the cultural implications of occupational class have become greatly eroded for most groups. He uses residence and cultural choices as the uppermost mark of class distinction in the Bourdieusian tradition. Tim Butler (2005) stresses that the residential dimension constitutes a central aspect in the process of definition of the social position of middle classes, allowing them specific access to other important fields (work, culture and, crucially, education) in which these groups need to operate.

Unlike Savage, this book combines occupation (defined by employment, or more broadly by belonging to a professional community), values and residence in the analysis of social class. But Savage's hypothesis is central to this analysis: the differentiation of spaces for interaction opens the field of the possible for individuals. They may choose where they belong and may negotiate their involvement in a given space. Individuals are to a certain extent able to choose and/or negotiate their belonging to one political or social space or another, as well as their degree of investment and interaction. Mobility and individualisation open the way to logics of choice.

The choice of neighbourhood of residence is one of the issues we examine in the interviews with informants included in this research. A significant part of their social status is related to their residential choices and trajectories, and their strategies allow them to negotiate their degree of involvement and social interactions in

the neighbourhood where they reside. Once a residential choice is made, individuals develop strategies to control their environment and to carefully select their combination of distance and proximity regarding other social groups living in the same area. In addition to the social relations that could potentially be established at the neighbourhood level, individuals exert a higher degree of choice in their experience of residential urban spaces through their differential approach to privacy and access to services. It is particularly these spectrums that have changed over time, and over which people, particularly those with resources, now exert far more choice than in the past.

This book elaborates on the idea that proximity does not necessarily mean cohesion, and that segregation does not need to imply isolation either.³ Physical proximity does not mean complete cohabitation necessarily, but a selective interaction in daily life in the dimensions of leisure, work or sociability that individuals have a certain degree of autonomy to choose. The development of strategies of distance and proximity in relation to other social groups implies that individuals may remain strongly embedded in the territory of their neighbourhoods and cities through their interactions with dense social networks, their selective use of public services, frequenting certain public spaces or their clear segregation from certain groups. In this context, distance and proximity strategies allow individuals to inhabit socially mixed urban areas without having to renounce specific practices conditioned by their social class.

Savage *et al.* rightly claim that residence has the greatest fixity in relation to the other dimensions in terms of defining one's sense of 'social location'. Indeed, it is this fixity that often allows access to other dimensions that might be more mobile. This insight is particularly important in allowing us to go beyond the classic opposition between rooted 'locals' and mobile 'cosmopolitans', re-elaborating these categories according to our framework (Merton, 1957). It is also useful for going beyond broad simplistic generalisation contrasting cosmopolitan elites and the rest of society. The specific nature of those strategies with regard to the urban fabric is analysed by reviewing empirical evidence on the friendships, social networks, children's education, mobility, travel, residential choices, everyday consumption practices, holidays, values and attitudes of our informants.

The possibility of 'partially exiting' the national society and/or segregating oneself from the urban context is not freely available to all, of course, and some social groups (upper-middle classes and middle classes) within cities have relatively more capacity to opt out. In contrast, other social groups have neither the resources nor the potential to leave their country, city or neighbourhood. We attribute to upper-middle-class groups a higher capacity to regulate the intensity of their interactions with 'others', since their position in society (social status determined by their access to different forms of capital) grants them a specifically large room for manoeuvre in this respect.

Upper-Middle Classes: 'Exit' and Urban Disembeddedness

Urban upper and middle classes have proved essential to the definition of European societies: the rise of cities has been closely related to the emergence of the urban bourgeoisie, who invented itself as a social class and status group with its own interests, ways of life, consumption behaviours, values, ideas and organisations. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European bourgeoisies committed to the creation of national societies at the risk of losing some of the power and predominance in the local

environments in which they had actually emerged and accumulated their wealth and power. In a period of consolidation of nation-state capitalism, the ruling elites prospered within the protective environment of State structures, while subordinate classes also tried to mediate their relation to capital through the institutional arrangements generated by the nation state (Harvey, 1989; Robinson and Harris, 2000).

But the nation state is not the central organising sphere of capitalism any more; nor is it the only institutional context in which class segmentation and social life actually take place in contemporary societies. A global process of class formation seems to be at work in which some social groups (both dominant and subordinate) have been globalising through the former structures, institutions and frameworks of a nation-state world. As productive structures are becoming internationally focused, social classes are experiencing supra-national integration processes with 'national' classes of other countries. Class rivalries, negotiations and alliances, until recently played out within national societies, are losing their effectiveness as regulating mechanisms of capitalist polarising tendencies. The liberation of capital from spatial barriers facilitated by new technologies, the reorganisation of production at the global level and the deregulation of global markets, implies that the locus of class and group relations may be structured beyond the boundaries of the nation state (Harvey, 1989; Robinson and Harris, 2000).

The global decentralisation and fragmentation of the production process redefine the accumulation of capital, and class formation does not seem to be so clearly attached to territory, national productive structures, or the jurisdiction of nation states. In the current rescaling process (Brenner, 2004), a new elite, made of urban social groups within upper or upper-middle classes, is taking advantage of the increasingly relevant mobility tendencies to challenge existing national elites, push for different modernisation projects and promote their own ambitions and interests (Robertson, 2000). These groups can use mobility to advance their own interests beyond the constraints of their national and local contexts. Their capacity to use mobility in this way threatens the second mechanism of the creation (and maintenance) of the nation state previously mentioned, that is to say, the making of interdependencies within each society (Bartolini, 2005).

A literature inspired by Stein Rokkan identifies the emergence of a new type of cleavage between winners and losers of globalisation. Thus, Kriesi *et al.*'s (2008) comparative work on political competition in national spaces analyses the impact of globalisation in European societies starting with the assumption, very much in line with the arguments put forward in this book, that globalisation processes are likely to have different consequences for different social groups, with certain groups taking particular advantage of the new context. The likely winners of globalisation would include entrepreneurs and skilled employees in sectors open to international competition, as well as cosmopolitan citizens. As Baumann already emphasised in his 1998 book, mobility appears as one of the mechanisms through which the new social stratification processes unfold. Following Kriesi *et al.* (2008, p. 8): 'on the one hand there are those who are mobile because they control convertible resources allowing them to exit, and on the other hand, there are those who remain locked in because they lack resources'.

The globalisation of the economy may be leading to the emergence of a *transnational capitalist class* (Sklair, 2000), a highly mobile global elite, which can move between countries, organise itself across and around borders, avoiding the constraints of life and work in national societies. This group would constitute 'an international bourgeoisie: a socially comprehensive category, encompassing the entrepreneurial elite, managers of firms, senior state functionaries, leading politicians, members of the learned professions...

plus the [leaders of] media, culture, consumption' (p. 62). This new hegemonic elite speaks English and has mastered the codes that operate within Anglo-American corporations, universities and consultancy firms. It is developing a common global culture and particular consumption practices. Their global society is apparently organised less on the basis of major conflicts, and more on the basis of professional networks, with norms and models of excellence driven from within the professions (by legal experts, managers, university academics, doctors, accountants, bankers, consultants and advertising executives). Their discourse on globalisation and its benefits appears to be central to the legitimisation of these processes, and to their global domination as a social group. Although they constitute a minority, these groups try, and to a large extent have managed, to influence the public agenda by tilting it towards favouring globalising trends and market-oriented reforms in their respective societies. The institutions from which these groups derive their power may differ over time and place, and they are not always entirely united on every issue, but they coincide in their dependence on global markets, information and financial flows, and the international division of labour.

The accelerating mobility patterns associated with globalisation seem to have encouraged European bourgeoisies to loosen some of their ties to their national systems while trying to establish links at the international sphere in a new move aimed at not losing relative ground in a growingly transnational world. In order to develop and maintain their international projection, these groups need transnational competences, qualifications and skills that allow them to understand codes, conventions, attitudes and behaviours in different cultural contexts, as well as to communicate and cooperate across national-cultural boundaries. These global players have higher incentives to invest in emotional ties across cultural and linguistic barriers, while also enjoying greater access to the necessary knowledge resources for building and maintaining the transnational social networks that may allow them to take advantage of the process of economic globalisation. Thus, it is the class of 'transnational experts' who have the greatest possibilities of benefitting from the extension of social spheres beyond the boundaries of the nation state (Mau and Mewes, 2009). This concept of 'transnational experts' must be understood in a wide sense, reaching beyond the more obvious example of economic decision-makers to include a series of occupations in the political sphere, administration, media, knowledge industries and, in general, what is known as the 'weightless economy'.

Since the highly educated are considerably more likely to have access to the linguistic, cultural, social and cognitive skills, and competences necessary to fully participate in this transnational arena, we can assume the existence of a clearly unequal segmentation of the involvement in this sphere, generally reflecting the lines of the social structure of each society (Larsen *et al.*, 2006; Wagner, 2007; Fligstein, 2008; Díaz Medrano, 2011). This segmentation might be strengthened by the unequal capacity of the different social classes to participating in those spheres, considering their importance and/or mastering the basic codes with which they operate. Following this argument, and despite the decreasing costs of international travel, lower classes might have fewer opportunities to establish, and more importantly maintain, long-distance relations, since the cost of physical mobility across borders could prevent them from making frequent long-distance journeys. By contrast, those in the higher social strata could accumulate transnational social capital and cover the costs of remaining connected to their international networks.

European, urban, upper-middle classes have to be analysed in relation to their strategies to gain resources from the international world, and to escape the constraints of

national society, while remaining part of it (a process conceptualised in this book as 'partial exit'). Given their more favourable social position, qualifications and skills, and greater capacity to be internationally mobile, those groups with more educational capital and comparatively higher occupational status could be said to constitute the avant-garde of a process of overcoming the borders of the nation state. At the other extreme, those individuals with lower educational levels and in less desirable occupational positions are much less involved in transnational activities and appear to be much more fixed to their own nation-state societies and practices (Mau and Mewes, 2009).

As is well known from the urban literature, elites define who they are partly by the *place* they choose to live in (street, neighbourhood, district, city or urban region). More than a century ago, for example, English middle classes left urban industrial centres to live in residential suburbs, in search not only of a quieter environment but mostly of a social status to go with their socio-economic position. Contrary to what happened in other regions (particularly the US and the UK), most privileged social strata of continental European cities stayed in the city centres instead of following the suburbanisation trend. These groups maintained and reproduced their presence, and accumulated economic, social, cultural and political capital using their spatial centrality. In France, Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot's (1989, 2000) work identified the 'spatial stamp' of the bourgeoisie in the formation of cities: a way of building and organising 'good districts' in the urban layout. The mutual reinforcement in spatial terms enables this particular social class to deploy effective inheritance and reproduction strategies. As these authors point out: 'Spatial segregation, pushed to the extreme, is in fact an aggregation, the choice of a social group, of a class, through which it is expressing its awareness of the group's deep community of interests' (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot, 2000, p. 54). The search for differentiation and status is also stressed in Butler and Robson's (2003a, b) research on contemporary British middle classes, particularly in relation to the schooling and educational choices for their children (see also Zunz *et al.*, 2002; Bagnasco, 2008).

Thus, elites and middle classes did not systematically leave the city centres, and their urban presence in these areas has in fact become even more pronounced since the 1980s in most European cities. A series of parallel developments took place in the last decades. First of all, there is continuous *embourgeoisement*: the renewed investment by upper and upper-middle classes in historical bourgeois neighbourhoods close to city centres in association with new financial and corporate districts, as shown in Paris by Préteceille (2007). Sometimes *gentrification* processes have also taken place when middle classes pushed the working class out of central neighbourhoods, and, to a certain degree, *suburbanisation*, with the emergence of more or less segregated upper- and middle-class communities (even including some examples of 'gated communities'). Other dynamics unfolding in European urban spaces include the reproduction of bourgeois '*entre soi*' spaces (Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot, 2000) or the political construction of new neighbourhoods for upcoming upper-middle classes close to business districts (the Docklands, Levallois in Paris, Milano Due), what Bruno Cousin (2008) calls the *refounded neighbourhoods*. Making sense of all those different urban dynamics, and identifying what Lockwood (1995) calls 'the urban seeking' versus the 'urban fleeing' middle classes, constitutes a particularly fruitful way of understanding shifting inequalities and processes of social differentiation in contemporary European cities.

Managers and professionals (new upper-middle classes) have generally followed the same logic as more consolidated bourgeois groups, but they have settled less systematically in the city centre, often moving to residential suburbs. In most European cities,

those suburban local communities include high concentrations of wealthy households, and some can be very wealthy. In northern cities (as in some Scandinavian countries), or in southern European cities (in Italy or Spain), this phenomenon was initially rather limited, but it has gained momentum in recent years. It is more common in Germany and France. Areas of suburban houses or peri-urban developments and small, ethnically and socially homogeneous residential towns, largely of owner-occupiers, have emerged on the periphery of cities everywhere. They benefit from the two trends of urban growth and sprawl. Horizontal dispersal has gradually affected European cities, but it has not generally led to the decline of city centres. Good districts and residential suburbs are also visible in the largest cities because there are more socially powerful households there (particularly in capital cities, close to government, media and institutions representing national culture; Pinol, 2003).

In contrast to Americans, Europeans are less mobile historically, and both states and societies, at least until now, have resisted the same level of penetration of market values and the structuring of social relations around capitalism. But this conflict is central to the dynamics of European societies. This book is therefore rooted both in the classic European comparative sociological tradition developing a sort of political economy of European societies and social change, and in ongoing stimulating work by urban and globalisation geographers, sociologists or political economists.

The ‘Partial Exit’ and Distance–Proximity Strategies of European Upper-Middle Classes

The reader might have noticed implicit models of social change in this introduction. First, while taking into account processes of globalisation and mobility, there is no reason to assume a general model of convergence, or a simple top-down model of adaptation of societies. As Therborn (2011, p. 3) puts it: ‘The new challenge is to comprehend, and to be able to act upon, the new common human world. A very elementary start is to recognise that commonality necessarily entails neither sameness nor equality’. Second, cities and regions are more differentiated within nation states and structured by relations between them. Territories and cities are essential dimensions of group making. Third, individuals are not floating in the world freely interacting and maximising their interests. Groups, values and social structures matter and vary between societies. Fourth, processes of social change are not independent from the transformation of capitalism. Modern societies are, in part, capitalist societies in the sense of Streeck (2012):

A system of social action and a set of social institutions. ... A society that has coupled its material provision to the private accumulation of capital, measured in units of money, through free contractual exchange in markets driven by individual calculation of utility and self enrichment through market exchange. ... Dependence upon the sustenance of the successful accumulation of privately appropriate capital.

Individuals and groups face inequalities, pressures from firms and opportunities to compete with other groups. A more transnationalised capitalism led by very powerful large firms does structure societies. Fifth, societies differ. European societies, it was argued, were characterised by the importance of the state (a legacy of centuries of war), the welfare state in particular (legacy of early industrialisation and the

management of class struggles), centuries of a stable peasantry on the land, a long meta-stability of the urban structure and regional identities, and a long secularisation process. The southwest corner of Europe, in particular, has historically been characterised (in contrast to Britain) by late industrialisation and urbanisation. Sixth, processes of social change are also macro-processes that may be slow and incremental, and may be analysed through precise mechanisms of changes triggered over time. European societies may be ageing and are not comparable with the explosive social dynamics of India, China or Brazil today, but migration, transnationalisation and Europeanisation processes have profound long-term effects on the transformation of those societies. Rather than prophesising the rise of a mobile or liquid society, the aim of this book is to identify mechanisms and empirically document the existing changes.

Transnationalisation processes, and first and foremost mobility, are potentially major drivers of social change, creating new cleavages within national societies (Kriesi *et al.*, 2008). But not always, not for everybody, and comprehending those effects requires that we take seriously the specificities of each society. Continental European societies are characterised in particular by deep territorialisation as far as social life, family relations, politics and even some economic relations are concerned. Mobility should not be studied independently from other social characteristics. The impact of mobility in European societies can only be explained in relation to rootedness, the inscription of individuals within families, social groups, cities, welfare regimes and national societies. Mobility and mobile lives only make sense in relation to local lives and neighbourhoods, and it is the combination of the two that prevents us from falling into the trap of seeing change where there is not much of it. Following a well-established tradition in urban studies (Hannerz, 2003; Burawoy, 2005; Savage *et al.*, 2005; Kennedy, 2007), it is crucial to examine transnational mobility practices together with more stable residential practices.

An alternative hypothesis may state that a regional European society might be more advanced than a global society when looked at in the same terms. European societies, which share some common and distinctive features, might be more Europeanised than globalised in terms of the social organisation and behaviours of their elites and middle classes. Is a new global bourgeoisie emerging? Or is this a European elite or middle class in formation, which could gain influence in cities and, to some extent, reinforce the discontinuity between territories, perhaps giving birth to a new Europe of cities? A new generation of scholars are bringing forth evidence of European societies slowly in the making through mobility, horizontal networks and the impact of the EU (Fligstein, 2008; Mau *et al.*, 2008; Recchi and Favell, 2009; Mau, 2010a, b; Díaz Medrano, 2011).

Despite the important transformations linked to globalisation, this global society is, as yet, still more virtual and potential than real, more a stage in which these actors interact than a clearly defined system. Moreover, in terms of empirical research, this hypothesis of apprehending social change in contemporary advanced societies has been much more theorised than investigated. This book aims at contributing to that line of inquiry by testing our hypothesis with the empirical evidence generated among upper-middle classes in a series of European cities.

Structure of the Book

The book starts by introducing the category of managers in the three countries, the four cities and the 16 neighbourhoods included in the research. These groups constitute central actors in the definition of the strategies of adaptation of contemporary

societies to the challenges posed by globalisation, so Chapter 1 reviews the dimension of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism among managers by discussing the analysis of representations and values of these groups. Managers see themselves as modernising agents within their societies, articulating strong views about Europe and globalisation.

Chapter 2 deals with the urban dimension of the research by examining: (1) whether the managers we interviewed were rooted in their neighbourhoods and cities as suggested in relation to the characteristics of European societies, and (2) the extent to which they develop ‘exit’ strategies from the city in terms of self-segregation strategies, or even social secession. Two main results are put forward: first, secession is not the game managers played in the cities included in the research. These managers develop sophisticated strategies of distance and proximity with respect to other social and ethnic groups in order to remain in control of their environments, practices and social interactions. Second, the degree of rootedness is even more massive than imagined. Through the analysis of family and friends, managers appear strongly rooted in their cities and neighbourhoods.

The transnationalisation of managers is analysed in Chapter 3. Transnational mobility is clearly a cleavage distinguishing three groups of managers. Beyond a small group of enthusiastically mobile managers, most transnationals are rather happy to be a little internationalised, as long as they can return quickly to where they were before, and with as much security as possible in professional terms. In other words, managers appear to be to a certain extent internationalised but under shelter. In contrast, indicators of virtual transnationalisation show strong commitments and beliefs. The managers we interviewed live in a global virtual world, but with limited practical experience of it in their daily lives. Finally, transnational practices reveal a massive Western orientation, since very few of the managers interviewed seemed to be familiar with the rest of the world outside Europe and North America.

Chapter 4 is organised around the analysis of networks, articulating the transnational and urban dimension and, using our analytical framework, emphasising the importance of ‘partial exit’ and the absence of free-riding ‘barbarians’. Strikingly, managers are shown to be socially exclusive to a remarkable extent.

The conclusion discusses the comparison between the four cities, the importance of ‘partial exit’ strategies in cities and national societies, the making of a European middle class, the remaining importance of territories, friends and families in individuals’ strategies, and the role of transnationalism as an emerging social cleavage.

Notes

- 1 Special thanks to Adrian Favell for this reference. More on this on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ael6QdLrIWg>
- 2 In basic terms, the concept of transnationalism refers to the significant intensification of border-crossing work relations, communications, networks and social interactions, as well as to the growing presence of international references in everyday practices, societal systems and regulations (Mau *et al.*, 2008).
- 3 For a classic analysis of ‘distance and proximity’, see Chamboredon and Lemaire (1970).

Comparing Upper-Middle-Class Managers in Four Cities: A European Social Group in the Making?

The argument about transnationalisation of societies points towards the upper-middle classes as the key social group at the core of the social/spatial class dynamic because they have the resources to take advantage of a process of rescaling and mobility opportunities. This theoretical argument raises some major questions: who are the groups composing the upper-middle classes? What are their features? To what extent do they share a common set of values, and can they be defined as a class in Europe? Is it possible to identify a process of social differentiation in the making?

Answering these questions leads to classic debates in sociology about the peculiar group of the ‘middle classes’. Comparing classes in different countries is always a challenge, as representation, dynamics and measures are deeply rooted in national trajectories, social systems and social contracts (Zunz *et al.*, 2002). And these are slowly being eroded. Simmel and Weber, contemporary urban scholars, sociologists and historians, as well as a large body of theoretical and empirical research, have addressed the question of the middle classes.

This chapter makes explicit some of our theoretical and methodological choices regarding the groups who constitute the upper-middle classes in European societies and cities, and which are analysed in this research. In the introduction, we mentioned how we are seeking those sections of the middle classes with considerable resources and assets, in effect the upper rungs of the middle classes. According to each national setting, the question of the middle classes includes some elements of contrast between traditional middle classes (*petite bourgeoisie*), economic entrepreneurs and state employees. Comparing particular social groups in different countries and cities requires an understanding of their making, and relative situation in the national and local context, their particular trajectory, as well as the cities and neighbourhoods. Among upper-middle classes, we selected managers from the public and private sector. In order to compare mobility, ‘partial exit’ and rootedness among European upper-middle classes, the service class category was too large and far too reliant on

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employment relations. In Italy, France and Spain, the issues of rights, collective agreements within firms, pension rights, education, institutions and status are essential components within those groups.

The first three sections of this chapter are devoted to elucidating these theoretical conceptions and decisions. The fourth section clarifies the methodological questions and presents the sample, describing how respondents were selected and their main features. Finally, building upon empirical results, we ask whether the social group under investigation in the four European cities shares a common set of values and perceptions of the world that differentiates them from the rest of their societies, and (whether and) how this group shares a logic of 'exit' or 'partial exit' regarding their national and local societies, preferring to identify themselves with other scales.

Searching for the European Upper-Middle Classes: The Choice of European Managers

In the European context, national states and societies have been in the making over several centuries, and four processes have shaped the rise of the middle classes. First, the industrial revolution's legacy was central to organising European societies around the cleavage of social class (Therborn, 1995, 2008; Crouch, 1999). That process was crucial in Britain, where 75% of the population was once working class, significant in northern Europe and far less important in southern Europe (except in some regions). The post-war period represented the peak of European industrialisation until the 1960s. In contrast, traditional social groups such as the local bourgeoisie (shopkeepers, small entrepreneurs, craftsmen and some professions) and peasants remained very powerful until the 1960s and 1970s in central and southern Europe, especially in France, Italy and Spain. The industrial modernisation of society mainly took place after the 1950s, together with a delayed urbanisation compared with the UK. The tension between the working class in the making and more traditional social groups (the petty bourgeoisie or the peasantry) structured national societies. The question of the middle classes is therefore a question of bourgeoisies. The Marxist concept of bourgeoisie was famously based upon that of the class struggle within capitalist dynamics. From this perspective, the bourgeoisie is seen as a relatively homogeneous group with clear interests and a class consciousness. This unifying conception relies upon its position in the process of production, inheritance and networks in the same social group.

Kocka's (1996) discussion of the term '*Bürger*' and its three different meanings over time (including that of citizen) reveals a gradual shift away from the medieval Burger to progressively include entrepreneurs. The intersections between bourgeoisie and middle classes took different forms in different countries. In most cases, the concept 'bourgeoisie' remained linked to the idea of economic activities and property. In England, the term 'middle class' appears at the turn of the nineteenth century, when the language of class replaced that of ranks and orders (Briggs, 1967). According to the great historian, Eric Hobsbawm, this new English middle class was first and foremost made up of industrial entrepreneurs, especially in industrial cities in the Midlands and the north. Traditional professions, including public-sector employees and small shopkeepers, were soon marginalised. Entrepreneurs made the middle classes clearly distinct from the upper class (or 1%—the aristocracy—of the population with its accumulated wealth and prestige) and the very large working class in the making. Unlike

Germany, where lawyers and civil servants always formed pivotal middle-class groups, the British middle classes were dominated by the business world (Kocka, 1996). The concept of middle classes in Britain is therefore quite different from those classic notions of bourgeoisies prevalent on the continent.

Second, European societies have been shaped by the expansion of the state, governments, bureaucracies, public policies and especially the welfare state. Unlike Marx, Weber identified the crucial role of specific social groups of civil servants in processes of social change. By 1870, the making of the modern state in most European countries went hand in hand with the making of a national, hierarchical professional administration. Public expenditure accounted for just over 10% of GDP in Germany, France or Italy in 1870, but over the course of a century that figure increased to 40–50% of the GDP. In Europe, the twentieth century saw the development of the state, government activities, national and local administration and the welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990). In no other part of the world has the state played such a central role in shaping society and forming national communities. In most European countries public-sector lower-middle classes came to play an essential role in the social and political dynamics of their societies, notably in cities (Kriesi *et al.*, 1995; Pickvance, 1995; Castells, 1997). From the late nineteenth century onwards, the issue of white-collar workers has become pivotal in the debate about the middle classes (or '*classes moyennes*' in French, '*ceti medi*' in Italian or '*clases medias*' in Spanish), especially the way these groups of state employees have gradually become more visible and organised. This development took off to a large extent with the emergence of the welfare state after the 1960s, notably with the expansion of primary, secondary and higher education, as well as health and social services. Today, social expenditure alone accounts for about 25% of GDP in the EU. Seminal work by Esping-Andersen (1990) recognised labour-market decommodification, and the rise of public employment related to the state as key elements associated with this development. The three worlds of the welfare capitalism, often associated with four models in the literature in order to include southern Europe in the typology, provides key insights for analysing social change. In each country, various types of public employees have played a different role in society, as they organised and defined themselves in opposition to other social groups.

Third, the rise of industrial capitalism led to the introduction of the large industrial firm during the twentieth century, most notably after WWII. These corporations developed forms of organisation that relied upon scientific knowledge, and new groups of managers became responsible for overseeing the work, supervising workers and designing corporate strategy. The rise of what was sometimes seen as a modernist, technocratic group was directly linked to the rise of the Fordist model. The larger the role played by these large industrial firms in the economy, the greater the rise of those managers in the social structure. That dynamic shaped first the growth of white-collar workers, and then that of managers, key groups among the American middle classes. From the 1930s on, and especially after 1945, the same logic applied to France, unlike Italy or Spain (Chandler, 1990; Fridenson, 2002). Yet even in Italy, '*dirigenti*' (Cesareo *et al.*, 1979) became an established social group. Managers tend to be known for their professionalism within the firm, their experience and degrees. As executives and managers, they have progressively become part of the upper-middle-class echelons. Economic development beyond industry also led to the rapid rise of the black-coated salaried workers (Lockwood, 1958). In shops and services, firms progressively hired more non-manual workers, employees of various grades and salaries, with more or less

prestige and responsibility, sometimes seen as working class because of their way of life, sometimes seen as efficient, responsible employees aspiring to join the ranks of a lower middle class (thus escaping from the lower echelons of the social structure). Lockwood's pioneering analysis was vital in showing how these groups were not part of the English working class. Using a Weberian framework, he illustrated how their way of life and aspirations were clearly different from those of the working class.

Fourth, the question of the middle classes has been linked to established professions, and to the so-called learned professions, in particular. In the past, traditional urban bourgeoisies comprised doctors and members of the legal profession and, later on, accountants. Initially, they organised themselves in professional associations exchanging monopoly privileges and services, thus ensuring standards of training and delivery, in other words, forms of old corporatism (Crouch and Dore, 1990). These professions still play an important role in most societies. Interestingly, the most recent forms of late capitalism in Europe, characterised by de-industrialisation and tertiarisation, have given a new impetus to all sorts of groups who seem to embody a modern version of these professions, from information-technology specialists to consultants and a wide range of other experts (Abbott, 1988).

Those five groups (bourgeois, state employees, managers, private-sector white-collar workers and other professionals) and their evolution over time provide the basis of our analysis of the upper-middle classes. One way to deal with these groups is to focus on the upper class. This concept was developed by the most descriptive stratification approach of social differentiation put forward by Warner *et al.* (1949) and Coleman and Rainwater (1978) in the American context. The latter contrasts the upper class with the lower-upper class (a point made by Warner when he contrasts old money and new money). This research tradition reveals differentiation between upper classes and a move away from the idea of elites or a dominant class. Our research is based not on the study of the elites but on those groups more organised around work and educational qualifications (lower-upper classes, or upper-middle classes).

These groups have been a challenge for sociologists. Analysing the middle classes was never a strength of classic Marxist analysis for obvious reasons. One way to investigate these groups is through a socio-historical analysis of formations of various sections of the middle classes or the bourgeoisies, exploring their interactions over time, their organisation, political representation, culture and way of life, thus the making of a group conscience through conflict and the impact of political entrepreneurs. Kocka's (1996) analysis of the German bourgeoisie, or Boltanski's (1982) research about one of these middle class groups in France, '*cadres*', from the 1930s to the 1970s, reveals some fascinating insights. At the other end of the spectrum, sociologists influenced by Weber and Marx, such as Olin Wright or Goldthorpe, have analysed class structures including the middle and upper-middle classes in their theoretical and empirical research.

One way to investigate middle-class groups is to contrast large numbers of public-sector intermediary groups with the old small bourgeoisie. In the French sociological tradition, a central debate highlights the dynamics of this 'new middle class', which tends to work in the public sector and to have a higher educational degree and considerable cultural resources (assets or capital). In 'Distinction', Bourdieu (1984) contrasted the new middle classes, with their considerable cultural capital and relatively low economic resources, with the traditional small bourgeoisie and their low cultural level capital yet high economic capital. Other scholars researched new lifestyles, cultural practices, moral entrepreneurs and the post-1968 influence of

intermediary groups among higher education and welfare-state employees (Bidou, 1984; Benoit-Guilbot, 1985; Mendras, 1988; Chalvon-Demersay, 1997). Contradictions within those groups were stressed, for example the role they played as regulators, often contesting the power of the elites. The contradictions of those new middle classes were seen as the fuel for their engagement in new social movements in the 1970s. In Italy, Bagnasco and Negri argued that those groups were defined not just by their place in the labour market but also by rules, rights, institutions, political guarantees and their consumption of goods and access to public services. In many ways, they resemble status groups rather than social classes (Paci, 1982; Bagnasco and Negri, 1994; Bagnasco, 2008). The relevance of a middle-class paradigm is blurred by these vaguely defined intermediate social groups. These middle strata, including both blue-collar and white-collar workers (who grew more similar by virtue of their increased purchasing power), became relatively more uniform and stable, with lifestyles and consumption patterns centred on leisure and work.

Not only do these groups display distinct trajectories and relations over time in different societies, but the way they have been theorised in the past reveals national intellectual, statistical and state traditions, not to mention their own capacity to organise, as well as their different political role. In other words, until recently, most research on the middle classes was conducted within clearly confined and strict national contexts.

Professionalisation, the service class debate and the role of culture

Within this category, different social groups coexist in terms of economic, financial, human and social capital, and thus in terms of status and prestige. This variety is to be found both within and across countries. Through his analysis of the rise of post-industrial society, Bell (1973) opened the way to a systematic understanding of professionals (knowledge, education, science) as an important group in the making of an economy less organised by industry and class conflict than in the past. This argument was later expanded to take into account lifestyles, consumption and leisure patterns for this new group (Ley, 1996). Gouldner (1979) also developed an influential theory of the rise of a new class, a technical intelligentsia in capitalist industrial society, constantly in tension with political elites, on the one hand, and those owning capital and inheriting resources, on the other. This new technical intelligentsia class is related to the rise of bureaucracies in large firms and in the public sector. In a way, and in contrast with classical sociology of organisations, he saw bureaucracy as an arena for contradictions and class structures. Gouldner identified a particular type of professional in the rise of this new class based upon monopoly and knowledge, developing critical discourse and sharing culture. His key insight points to conflicts between middle and upper classes, between managers (those who have knowledge and expertise) and those who have capital. They may challenge the old dominant class based upon privileges, inherited money and capital. This analysis, like his previous work on industrial bureaucracies, reflects the rise of managers in US firms also echoed in Galbraith's (1967) famous book on the rise of the techno-structure based upon technical, scientific and managerial expertise. Acknowledging that the analysis of the middle classes in contemporary societies requires adding complexity to the issue of the ownership of the means of production (in advanced economies, 85–90% of the labour force falls into the category of employee), the model proposed by Olin Wright (1997) includes two additional analytical dimensions: the relationship with authority within production, and possession of

skills or expertise. According to this categorisation, managers can be considered to be simultaneously in the capitalist class (they dominate workers) and in the working class (they are controlled by capitalists and exploited within production). This 'contradictory' position of managers allows them both to minimise control by their employers and to claim a significant portion of the social surplus in the form of high earnings. In Olin Wright's model, the interaction of those variables determines the location of classes within the social structure, generating a wide scope of segments of the middle classes, each with its own specific interests (located at the origin of some of the social conflicts that characterise contemporary societies) and political preferences.

Although Britain is not one of our case studies, the British case informs our work because the debate on theories of the middle and upper-middle classes has been particularly fertile there, based on the empirical research on the middle classes developed by authors such as Goldthorpe, Heath, Butler, Crompton, Skeggs, Hamnett or Savage. The British debate has been structured by issues of inherited inequalities and education, together with the significance of the working class. Thus, British sociology, rightly concerned with the opposition between a large working class and the upper classes in that country, was for a long time relatively weaker in its understanding of middle classes (except for clerical workers). Left-leaning social historians, such as Hobsbawm, neglected what he conceptualised as the suburban, narrow-minded, conservative and mediocre middle classes. Goldthorpe himself, who developed key empirical research on social mobility, was never particularly interested in the contribution of these 'new or lower middle classes' to social change, and in his critique of Bourdieu he despairs of the cultural capital argument.

However, classical sociological research centered on the work of Goldthorpe identifies some of these groups as key players in Western societies from the 1960s onwards: professionals, managers, engineers and so on. In that context, the debate focused on whether or not they could be grouped together as a so-called 'service class'.¹ First put forward by Renner (1978), the term 'service class', refers to property-less employees from the middle classes. In his seminal paper, Goldthorpe (1982) defined the 'service class' as part of the Nuffield scheme of class in terms of occupation (market and work situation), as well as of employment relations, but it appears as a dominant and conservative class (Butler and Savage, 1995). When he revised his concept in 1995, he emphasised that the work content is less important when comparing the relationship of service: 'Employees render service to their employing organisation in return for compensation' (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, pp. 41–42). These rewards or compensations are crucial in this definition. Examining intergenerational mobility, he argues that the differences between professionals and managers are blurred and that mobility, even within the life course, is quite strong between those groups. Therefore, the 'service class' concept is seen as robust and appropriate, and it has been gaining ground, encompassing about a third of the population and upholding the social order (Goldthorpe, 2007).

Butler and Savage (1995), influenced by Bourdieu but starting from their own research, developed an asset-based conception of the middle classes, challenging the assumption of the unitary 'service class', and suggesting the convenience of contrasting the entrepreneurial and small bourgeoisie (property), managers (organisations, bureaucracies) and professional middle classes, defined in particular by their cultural capital. Fifteen years after similar debates had developed in France, some British research also emphasised divisions between the higher sections of those three types of

middle classes and lower groups, a contrast reflected in particular in political behaviours (Heath and Savage, 1995). The UK debate about the middle classes was also an arena for understanding the role of gender in formations and transformations of class (Skeggs, 2004; Crompton *et al.*, 2010), pointing out the divisions between the public and the private sectors as well.

Following these insights, recent empirical research has emphasised the importance of the education and cultural capitals in the making of the middle classes. Van Zanten and Oberti in France, Butler and Ball in the UK in particular, have stressed the role of school choice for middle-class parents, and the long-term influence of education in the reproduction of inequalities, as a central issue for the middle classes. Research carried out by The Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change, developing class analyses based upon cultural taste (drawing on Bourdieu's analysis, although profoundly modifying it), is also a formidable empirical attempt to bring together issues of class formation and culture (Bennett *et al.*, 2009). Their research shows how contemporary British middle classes tend to differentiate themselves 'by demonstrating competence in handling a diversity of cultural products in a context where knowledge, information and media proliferate' (Bennett *et al.*, 2009, p. 178). Crucially, their research on cultural capital and cultural taste shows that 'middle and lower managers have been downgraded by organisational restructuring, while well-educated professionals have been able to retain their prime positions in organisational and occupational hierarchies' (Bennett *et al.*, 2009, p. 180). Identifying several trends that blur the differences between professionals and executives, they adopt the language of a 'professional executive class'. One avenue for research is also to focus specifically on the cultural repertoires and building of symbolic boundaries by middle-class individuals. Lamont's (1992) classic comparison of upper-middle class men in the US and in France provides a sharp analysis of what being 'a worthy' person means.

Within this debate on social classes, stratification and social status, and with few exceptions (Bagnasco and Negri, 1994; Blokland and Savage, 2001; Savage *et al.*, 2005), little attention has been paid to the spatial dimension and its meaning in relation to the identity that one could draw from living in a certain place, whether the city and/or neighbourhood. Living in an urban area or in a rural one, in a large metropolitan city or in a middle size one, in a city more market- or consumption-orientated makes important differences to the social structure, and for understanding collective actors' trajectories and the strategies of individuals.

Most research on stratification has been conducted within strictly confined national contexts, displaying distinct national trajectories and relations of social groups over time in different societies. In more recent times, some scholars argued for the need to go beyond national boundaries, focusing on the formation of a transnationalist capitalist class (TCC) (Robinson and Harris, 2000; Sklair, 2001, 2005, 2006; Carroll *et al.*, 2010). These studies are mainly framed within a Marxist perspective, arguing for the emergence of a world bourgeoisie that represents transnational capital, owners of the leading worldwide means of production as embodied in the transnational corporations and private financial institutions. The few empirical studies referring to the interlocking directorate boards end with rather sceptical conclusions about the actual emergence of that TCC. Within these studies the spatial dimension is often missing as well. This TCC is indeed supposed to be de-nationalised and de-territorialised, organising its interests at the global scale, although Sklair (2001) himself looks at the concentration

of headquarters of firms and therefore the TCC in dominant cities. Often, references to place are missing because in a globalised world, place and cities are not supposed to matter much anymore.

This book takes a different stance, starting from an urban perspective, as the construction and analysis of data are based on cities. The different territorial and institutional scales are taken into account, to analyse how they are nested, and how they interact in class formation. The urban, national, European and international levels are combined, bringing place, localities and cities back into the analysis. These levels of scales, instead of replacing one another, in fact coexist, adding further complexity to the definition of social groups and defining their identity (class?). This chapter aims at understanding whether the managers we interviewed in four European cities, Lyon, Milan, Madrid and Paris, can be considered as a social group or a class, providing evidence of a relatively common (shared) set of values to support the thesis of a European managerial class in the making.

The following section explains our decision to research specific social groups based on three indicators. First, we considered levels of education, more relevant in the French and Spanish cases, yet still a factor in our Italian sample. Second, building on the English debates on this matter, we sampled managers with a relative degree of work autonomy, namely the capacity to manage their time, workload and responsibility at work (for example, those who coordinate a team, or decide upon the careers and salaries of other employees). Finally, in contrast to most of the literature which focuses on globe-trotting super-rich elites, the higher levels of the social structure (successful entrepreneurs, brokers and traders, international managers and established members of wealthy bourgeoisies—these high-flyers are not part of our study) have been excluded in this study. We are therefore studying groups of professionals at the lower end of the upper-middle classes. Salaries of respondents are around €50–60,000 per year, slightly higher in Paris and lower in the other cities.

Taking the different levels of scale seriously means considering how these shape the different patterns of managers' trajectories in the four cities. Nation states and cities are not merely fluid and malleable according to individuals' choices; they still constitute important social structures and sets of institutions, shaping expectations, strategies and behaviours. In the two following sections, attention is paid to the national and urban patterns in the rise and importance of managers in the three countries and four selected cities.

National Patterns in the Rise of Managers: France, Italy and Spain

Acknowledging the complexity and heterogeneity of the 'service class', or upper-middle classes, we focus on one specific segment of it, particularly taking into account the divide between the public and private sectors. The research sample includes mainly private managers, but also a proportion of public ones (82% private managers, and 18% public managers: see Table 1.1), allowing for the understanding of typological differences and similarities between these two groups. In all three countries, the category of managers mainly developed after WWII, with important differences in timing and social meanings of this category.

France is the country where the category of managers developed first and where it has the greatest impact on the total working population (see Table 1.1) and the highest

Table 1.1 Percentages of managers among total employed individuals 2010

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female</i>
EU-15	7.70	5.7
Belgium	11.93	8.1
Denmark	4.91	3.3
Germany	5.55	3.6
Greece	10.10	7.5
<i>Spain</i>	<i>8.00</i>	<i>6.0</i>
<i>France</i>	<i>8.88</i>	<i>6.7</i>
<i>Italy</i>	<i>7.27</i>	<i>6.8</i>
Netherlands	10.59	6.5
Portugal	6.35	4.4
Finland	10.23	6.3
Sweden	5.63	3.6
UK	15.34	11.9

Source: Eurostat.

social prestige. Indeed, from the 1960s onwards, '*les cadres*' with their status, specific social and pension rights, became the symbol of the new social categories emerging in rapidly urbanising and modernising France.² Moreover, company managers were seen not only as part of a new country-wide dynamic (compared with the old petty bourgeoisie) but also as symbols of social success, and they embodied ideals of aspiring social mobility. Within this category three classic types were identified: those whose parents were already middle or upper-middle class, those who excelled at school and through competitive exams gained access to the '*Grandes écoles*' (every French parent's dream) and those who gained access through internal company ranks. The role of the '*Grandes écoles*' [engineering, Sciences Po and Ecole Nationale d'Administration (National School of Administration)] for the bureaucratic and political elites, or top business schools) in the French context has always been central to the formation of the French elite (some of these institutions were set up as long ago as the '*Ancien Régime*', or later by Napoleon). These elite groups, who run the country's large companies and government administration, have long been defined by their educational performance, thus legitimising their own reproduction through a system of meritocratic competition (Bourdieu, 1989). Yet, managers, with their training and masters' degrees, may possess less social prestige.

The sharpest contrast is with the Italian context where no specific undergraduate or graduate schools provide training for the elite, and access to managerial positions is only partially a matter of training. Far more relevant is gaining access to networks (especially family ones), which is the reason why only half of Italian managers have master's degrees (Rovati, 1991). The smaller proportion of managers in the total working population in the Italian context is mainly due to its economic structure. While, during the first two decades of the post-war period, the Italian economy was marked by rapid growth, and large firms led industrialisation in the north-west, either as part of the public sector [Ente Nazionale Energia Elettrica (National Agency for the Electric Energy)] or under family own firms (Fiat, Pirelli, etc.), from the mid 1970s onwards Italian economic growth was mainly linked to the rise of various sorts

of industrial districts made of SMEs in what became known as the ‘Third Italy’.³ The ambition of managers (*dirigenti*) to overtake entrepreneurs faded away. They did not manage to develop any fully separate autonomy from entrepreneurs and capitalists (Derossi, 1978; Talamo, 1979; Rovati, 1991) and were never recognised as legitimate as the entrepreneurial class. Managers developed in the shadow of entrepreneurs. Also, more recently, managers often dream of creating their own company or becoming consultants (not dependent workers). However the recent increase in medium-sized firms at the expense of the very small ones might create a new attention and legitimacy for the middle-rank management.

Spain somehow lies in between the two previous countries in its trajectory of emergence of a managerial class. It was mainly after the coming of liberal Western-style democracy following the death of Franco in 1975, with the liberalisation of the economy linked to Spain’s entrance in the European Economic Community in 1986, that Spain underwent a radical change in its socio-economic structure (Caballero Miguez, 2003). Between 1960 and 2008, Spanish GDP had the fastest growth within the OECD countries after Japan, a trend that only came to a sudden halt with the 2007 economic and financial crisis. Liberalisation of the economy opened up opportunities for foreign firms, and many sectors of the Spanish economy were taken over by foreign corporations, creating positions for managers that were often linked to the international sphere. Nevertheless, the Spanish economy, like the Italian one, is still shaped by a preponderance of SMEs where entrepreneur-manager profiles largely overlap. Also, as in Italy, the importance of relational capital is central for obtaining jobs in Spain, so the possibilities for upward mobility for the lower classes are relatively limited. Socio-economic transformations experienced by Spanish society did create some room for merit, though. The training and education of managers reflect wide variations according to sectors, but one estimate is that some 30% of Spanish managers between the ages of 30 and 40 have an MBA, while that percentage fell to 17% in the case of managers between the ages of 41 and 50, highlighting a generational divide. Those degrees operated as a mechanism of continuity of social stratification (they tend to be expensive to obtain) but to a certain extent also of merit (they included qualifications and intellectual skills as a necessary requirement, and there could be ways to finance them such as loans and scholarships), opening up the way for some bright students from less privileged backgrounds.

In all three countries, the total size of this category has grown over the last few decades, until it came to a halt with the recent economic crisis of 2008, when the trend went into reverse. In France, the proportion of ‘*cadres*’ and ‘*cadres supérieurs*’ has mushroomed since 2000, but differences among them have increased, partly owing to the individualisation of work contracts, new forms of management and growing numbers of consultants and experts (Bouffartigue *et al.*, 2011). The major category of ‘*cadres and professions intellectuelles supérieures*’ represents about 13% of the working population, and the category ‘*cadres supérieurs*’ includes around two million people, that is 7.5% of the French working population (INSEE). In Spain, despite the increase in absolute numbers, there has been a relative decline of this managerial category (*cuadros*) with respect to the total working population, and this trend is compatible with the evolution of the Spanish economy marked by a large expansion of employment in unskilled or low-skilled labour, particularly since the mid 1990s and until the 2008 crisis. In Italy as well, in the last few decades, the category of manager has been very much differentiated, encompassing both the ‘*dirigenti*’ and ‘*quadri*’ with quite a large salary

range. Considering just the *'dirigenti'* (the highest hierarchical level in the dependent occupational structure) the figure drops to less than 2% of the working population, a stable figure over the past three decades, while *'quadri'* account for 5% of the working population with some important regional and urban differences. The relatively small percentage of this category in Italy, and its relatively low legitimisation, are among the reasons why they have rarely been the focus of Italian empirical research (unlike entrepreneurs, or the self-employed).⁴

The presence of female managers in all three countries represents less than half of the category, despite their increase in the last two decades (see Table 1.1), and they are more concentrated in the lower ranks. Their increase in absolute terms has led everywhere to more homogamy, as they tend to marry men with a similar status and educational backgrounds. The increasing number of couples made of *'cadres'* is an important trend raising issues of social reproduction (Esping-Andersen, 2009). These high levels of homogamy are also affecting social mobility, and potentially creating a more homogenous social group.

Last, but not least, the spatial concentration of managers within the three countries reveals clear distinct patterns that informed the choice of cities for the focus of this research. In France, as is well known, in the Ile de France region and in Paris in particular, there is a large concentration of senior professionals, therefore also of managers both in the public and private sectors. In Italy, more than half of the existing *'quadri'* and *'dirigenti'* are concentrated in four regions: Lombardy, Piedmont, Veneto and Emilia Romagna. Lombardy in particular has the highest percentage, with Milan coming top as far as the presence of managers employed in private companies is concerned. In the case of Spain, the metropolitan regions of Madrid and Barcelona include a large share of *'cuadros'*, but other locations (Valencia, Bilbao, Seville, Zaragoza) have different combinations of private- and public-sector managers.

Managers in Four European Cities: Milan, Madrid, Lyon and Paris

Social scientists have noticed the development of a series of shifts in scale simultaneously taking place (Brenner, 2004; Keating, 2013), and urban studies have pointed out the emergence of various forms of cities over the last two decades: global city regions (Scott, 1998), the global city (Sassen, 2001) or, in the case of Europe, the increasing political autonomy and resources of leading groups within European cities (Le Galès, 2002; Kazepov, 2005). Beyond cities, researchers have noticed increasing regional and urban differentiation processes taking place across Europe, from Italy to Sweden. Interpreting these shifts in their selected urban environments requires comparison of the decisions and strategies the upper-middle classes (managers) are making in a context of both transnationalisation and rootedness. These decisions are obviously not taken in a vacuum. Cities constitute social structures and sets of institutions shaping city-dwellers' expectations, strategies and behaviours.

The selection of cities for this book was influenced by two main factors. First, in line with the literature on globalisation and global cities, Paris seemed an obvious choice, indeed practically unavoidable. Paris always falls within the first four positions of the Global Cities Index together with New York and London, rivalling Tokyo. Given the existing studies on London (Butler and Robson, 2003a, b), attention was focused on Paris, drawing on published London material for comparison with the results of this

research (Butler and Robson, 2003a, b). Meanwhile, Lyon, Milan and Madrid represent dynamic, relatively large and international European cities, although they do not display quite the same global features as Paris and London. Madrid shares with Paris the characteristic of being the state's capital (with a strong public administration presence), yet in a very different institutional setting. Madrid, in a very decentralised political structure, constitutes a powerful magnet for companies operating in the Iberian peninsula (particularly in the service sector), although it shares with Barcelona the role of corporate headquarter hub for both Spanish and international firms in this market (notably in the industrial sector, but also in certain areas of the service sector). Milan and Lyon represent second-tier cities with a relatively high degree of specialisation, more orientated to the private market and with a relatively industrial sector compared with the other cities. This selection thus contributes to our understanding of whether there are any differences between the largest urban regions such as London and Paris and other European cities, something that has been emphasised by the globalisation literature.

Second, as anticipated, cities were also selected for the high concentration of their country's managerial force. Milan is Italy's economic capital, with by far the highest proportion of managers. Owing to its role as political capital, Madrid also displays a large share of managers, from both the public and private sectors. Lyon is France's second economic hub and has a dynamic economy.⁵

Paris Ile de France: France's highest concentration of managers

Paris shares many common features with London as the long-established capital of a centralised country, where most of its elites are trained, a sort of escalator region for young people from all over the country, the most diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationalities, a magnet attracting and at the same time rejecting people from France and abroad, an urban region of around 10 million inhabitants, with good transportation links to the rest of France, Europe and the world. The centralisation of the labour market increased as the economy was restructured under the command of the state through the post-war planning system (Hall, 1986; Veltz, 1996; Anniello and Le Galès, 2001).

Paris metropolitan region accounts for roughly one-fifth of France's population, and just under a third of its GDP, the gap being explained by the usual extra productivity of a metropolis. With the French economy being structured around large globalised firms reliant on numerous subcontractors, most French company headquarters are based in Paris. Managers are educated and work in Paris, where more than half of French managers live (a figure closer to 70% for women) as well as the vast majority of manager couples (and upper-middle classes). In terms of spatial segregation, Prêteceille (2003, 2007, 2012) has developed a comprehensive analysis of Paris over time.⁶ If we take the broader category of '*cadres supérieurs*', Prêteceille has shown how, in the early 1960s, about half of these used to live in Paris and half in the Paris suburbs. Forty years later, while the overall figure has more than tripled, 62% of '*cadres supérieurs*' lived in the suburbs and the rest in Paris. In other words, the large increase in '*cadres supérieurs*' (including managers) has led to the ongoing '*embourgeoisement*' of Paris alongside increased suburbanisation in the '*banlieue ouest*' or the Western suburbs. In the nineteenth century, the Parisian bourgeoisie used to spend weekends in the royal town of St Germain en Laye (20 km west of Paris) or the 'English' garden city of Le Vésinet

(around 17km west of Paris). Large concentrations of managers among other upper-middle classes now live in these Western suburbs.

Préteceille's detailed analysis of social segregation across Paris reveals patterns such as the gradual expulsion of working-class groups from the city centre to the outskirts, a concentration of poor, ethnically mixed neighbourhoods in the north of Paris in the Seine St Denis area, and increasing embourgeoisement of the city centre and Western suburbs. In particular, he highlights how levels of segregation have particularly affected some members of the upper-middle classes such as private-sector managers and entrepreneurs.

Lyon: the rise of France's second city in Europe

Lyon lies in the heart of the Rhone Valley and is France's second metropolis. With one and a half million inhabitants, it has a long history as a service hub and industrial centre. Lyon went from being a bourgeois city of merchants and traders in the Middle Ages to a pioneer of industrial development, from textiles to the chemical industry, and trucks to video games. Large corporations, and a diversified set of SMEs, share a strong international outlook (Bardet and Jouve, 2001), and indeed several international corporations have their headquarters in Lyon. As a dynamic European urban region, it has capitalised on its industrial and service base to internationalise and develop strong political ties. Its urban reach extends far beyond the limits of its metropolitan government, and it relies on a network of cities in the Rhone Valleys including the industrial city of St Etienne to the west and Grenoble's high-tech industry to the southeast, on the way to the Alps. Lyon has an international airport and good connections to Geneva, and a new tunnel is being built to revive its links with Turin and Milan.

Lyon's unprecedented economic development in recent decades (over 10% of French GDP) was accompanied by great social inequalities and urban violence. In 1979, riots erupted in the Vaux en Velin suburb, and then again in 1981 in Les Minguettes in Venissieux. Industrial development led to new suburban working-class neighbourhoods with extensive high-rise social-housing provision. Gradually, workers from France's former colonies arrived, contributing to Lyon's socially and ethnically diverse make-up (segregation). Yet, Lyon is also known for a particular social group, which has managed to reproduce itself over time, a particular type of provincial bourgeoisie studied by Grafmeyer (1991, 1992), Authier (1993) and Authier *et al.* (2010a, b), even if it has been transformed by the rise of managers and transnationalisation dynamics.

Madrid: the pro-market capital of a strongly decentralised Spain

Madrid is the political and economic capital of a quasi-federal state. The 1970s' democratisation process was followed by three decades of intense economic development and capital accumulation. Madrid, like Paris, is often the entry point for transnational economic and human flows in Spain. Madrid's metropolitan area comprises more than 10% of Spain's population, and represents over 16% of the national GDP. Madrid has benefited from both intense private capital and public investments in major transport initiatives such as Barajas airport. Just as the regeneration of Barcelona aroused great interest, Madrid's transformation constitutes a very interesting case study for urban sociologists.

Madrid's economy has evolved as a large service provider, partly linked to the growth of its financial and insurance sectors, legal-services consultancy, construction and engineering firms, communication and media. This partly accounts for the increase in the number of managers living in the city. Madrid's labour market is shaped by a polarisation between increasing numbers of managers in the public and private sector, and lower-middle classes on the one hand, and, on the other hand, a large relatively precarious low-waged service sector, characterised by its instability, its relation to the informal economic sector, and growing numbers of economic migrants from Latin America, Eastern Europe and North Africa.

Spain has the highest proportion of home ownership in the EU (86% against an average of 61% including second homes), so housing constitutes an important feature of middle-class life and financial strategies. As elsewhere in Spain, the housing boom soared between the second half of the 1990s and 2008. Within Madrid municipality, prices increased from €1428 per square meter, to nearly €4000 in 2007. Housing prices in Spain more than doubled in real terms between 1976 and 2003, and kept rising until the property bubble burst in 2008. Since then, prices have decreased by nearly 40% in the Spanish aggregated market (considerably less in Madrid's city centre), and all construction work radically halted.

In terms of its spatial segregation, the centre of Madrid, a highly symbolic space, remains very attractive to high-income groups. However, upper-middle-class residents have also invested in property and moved out of the city towards its northern and north-western suburbs, partly followed by the relocation of company headquarters to business parks in those areas. In the words of the conservative elites of the Madrid regional government, promoting a more decentralised type of urban development was a clear attempt to create an American suburban way of life for managers and firms in the city's north-west districts. To the south-east lie Madrid's industrial zones and working-class neighbourhoods. The suburbanisation of Madrid's middle classes went hand in hand with the emergence of new shopping malls, consumerism and leisure pursuits.

Milan: Italy's economic and creative capital

With its 1.3 million inhabitants, the municipality of Milan is Italy's economic and financial centre. It lies at the heart of the highly productive Lombardy region and enjoys close ties with small and medium-sized cities all across the northern Italy. It can be considered a global city region at the centre of one of the most important and dynamic macro areas of Europe (Perulli, 2012). Like Lyon, Milan was an industrial powerhouse, but thanks to a concentration of Italian conglomerates and business corporations, it had greater resources to develop into a service and a financial hub, besides being the city of Italian design and fashion. Milan province (with its four million inhabitants) is Italy's richest, and wages are higher here than anywhere else in the country. Milan was an obvious choice for this research owing to this concentration of international firms and managers. In an analysis of the World Cities Network (<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/>), Milan scores as the first Italian world city in terms of providing services for the production and scores eleventh on the global level within the alpha cities together with Madrid (<http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2010t.html>; Taylor, 2012). Its larger-than-average share of managers, and intellectuals, accounts for about 36% of the labour force, compared with 27% on average in the rest of Italy. Milan also has Italy's highest rate of university-educated citizens.

As in Paris, Milan's spatial polarisation over the past two decades has remained relatively stable (except the extremes) (Cousin, 2008). However, Milan has also experienced a process of ongoing '*embourgeoisement*' (rather than gentrification), with low-income families struggling to find accommodation owing to significant housing-price increases. Milan's spatial segregation has been compared with 'leopard spots', with patches of relatively low levels of poverty concentrated in specific districts and more spread out across the whole urban area. Using the same method and categorisation as Prêteceille in his Paris-Milan comparison, Cousin contrasts Milan's lower level of middle-class segregation with its higher levels of waged upper-middle class (including managers) and skilled-worker segregation. Balducci's research on social segregation in Milan also shows that the city centre remains the domain of the traditional upper-middle classes or traditional bourgeoisie.

Selecting Four Neighbourhoods in Each City

Where do managers choose to live within a city? What relationship is there between their neighbourhood of choice and transnationalisation? What common patterns emerge among our managers in these four cities? In order to answer these questions, we worked with two hypotheses: first, influenced by Lockwood's distinction between the 'urban seeking' versus the 'urban fleeing', we selected in each city two central neighbourhoods and two neighbourhoods in the suburbs. This allowed us to empirically contrast transnationalisation, urban practices, values and networks. Second, managers' rootedness may depend on the type of neighbourhood in which they live and its social structure. Some managers live in upper-middle-class highly segregated areas, while others live in more socially mixed neighbourhoods. We therefore assume that this variable is interesting in order to analyse both the transnationalisation and the rootedness of our managers. The choice of neighbourhoods to include in our research was therefore based on two basic criteria: location and social structure. In each metropolitan context, we identified two neighbourhoods with the highest concentration of managers, and two neighbourhoods with a more mixed social composition, one each in the city centre and in the suburbs respectively (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Neighbourhood selection

<i>City</i>	<i>Social structure</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>
Madrid	Homogeneous	Almagro	Nueva España
	Mixed	Ibiza	Mirasierra
Milan	Homogeneous	City Centre	Arese
	Mixed	Lorenteggio Inganni	Vimercate
Paris	Homogeneous	Part of the 15th arrondissement	Le Vésinet
	Mixed	Front de Seine Beaugrenelle	Fontenay Sous Bois
		Part of the 17th arrondissement	
Lyon	Homogeneous	Northeast of Les Batignolles	Dandilly
		Part of the 10th arrondissement West	
		of Gare du Nord, Gare de l'Est	
Lyon	Homogeneous	Tête d'Or	Villeurbanne
	Mixed	Jean Mace	

For each metropolitan city, then, we have a table with four cells: one highly homogeneous neighbourhood in the city centre and one highly homogeneous one in the suburbs (i.e. over 50% of managers or upper-middle class in the same neighbourhood); one neighbourhood with a mixed population in the city centre, and one with a mixed population in the suburbs.⁷

Madrid neighbourhoods

Madrid's working population includes nearly 9% corporate and public administration managers. The municipality of Madrid is organised around 21 districts comprising diverse neighbourhoods, the result of an amalgamation process of neighbouring towns within the municipality of Madrid over a long period of time. Some of Madrid's districts have in fact remained quite distinctive. The previously mentioned north-west-south-east social cleavage is also reflected within Madrid municipality. The selection of the cases for this book was based on Madrid municipality's statistics department data based upon the 2001 Census (Figure 1.1).

Almagro

(central, homogeneous—13.1% managers)

Wealthiest area of the well-off Chamberí district. Built following the grid plan that characterised the expansion of the city after knocking down its external walls in the 1860s. Although a high-density neighbourhood, Almagro has kept its exclusive character. Its six-storey high-end apartment blocks, most of them built between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the 1960s, have undergone a strong process of tertiarisation. Owing to its centrality and prestige, many professional associations established their headquarters here. Similarly, professionals (lawyers, doctors, architects), as well as finance and insurance firms, have chosen this area to establish their premises. The neighbourhood is home to many embassies (UK, Germany and Sweden among others).

This process of tertiarisation was accompanied by the flight of many inhabitants, first to the newly developed luxury areas north along the axis of the Paseo de la Castellana (including Nueva España) and later to the north-west outskirts of the city, areas of concentration of the wealthiest sectors of society. Nevertheless, Almagro remained a very attractive residential area for Madrid's upper-middle classes.

Ibiza

(central, mixed—12.7% managers)

Northern part of the Retiro district, located next to the Salamanca district, sharing its typological layout (urban grid of the '*Ensanche*' plan).

The 'Retiro' park (that separates it from the centre of the city), together with its location at the periphery of the '*Ensanche*', meant that this area was among the last to be developed following the guidelines of that plan (the area was built mostly in the 1950s). Its eight-storey-high buildings are occupied by middle- and upper-middle-class residents, who appreciate its centrality, the commercial character of the area and its proximity to the park. Because of generational factors (the population of this neighbourhood is relatively older than in the other areas) and sociological

factors (the political transition towards a democracy in the second half of the 1970s and early 1980s led to the emergence of a new political and administrative elite often from a middle-class background, so either they came or settled in this neighbourhood), this was the area where we found most managers from the public sector.

The neighbourhood of Ibiza constitutes the most exclusive area of the Retiro district, and it is in fact symbolically linked to the Salamanca district (the second most expensive in the city), so property prices in the area are very high.

Nueva España

(suburban, homogeneous—18.6% managers)

Part of the Chamartín district, Nueva España combines high-density areas made of up to 10–12-storey high-end buildings (mostly built between the 1960s and 1980s) located in the western and eastern parts of the neighbourhood next to major north–south arteries of the city, with lower density areas made up of four- and five-storey ‘condominios’ (built mostly since the 1990s) and individual houses (including both old houses built when Chamartín still was a suburban area, and newly developed luxury homes) located in quieter parts at the core of the neighbourhood.

Located in between the business axis of the ‘*Paseo de la Castellana*’, and the first ring road of Madrid (M-30), allowing a relatively easy exit from the city, with many features of a suburban environment (privacy and relative isolation in the core areas), yet near the city centre, this neighbourhood has been a favourite residential option for the upper-middle classes since the mid 1960s. Many diplomatic missions are located in this neighbourhood.

Property prices in this area are the highest within the most expensive district of Madrid.

Mirasierra

(suburban, mixed—16.8% managers)

Located in the north of Madrid, this is the only neighbourhood included in the research located outside the M-30. It is made up of a combination of urbanisation typologies reflecting the different phases of construction: 1950s low-density area of individual houses for high-income families (‘*Colonia Mirasierra*’), 1960s Telefónica buildings for company employees, as well as 1980s (‘*Sacetal*’) and 1990s (‘*Arroyofresno*’ still under construction) ‘condominios’ (gated blocks) for relatively affluent families. Each of these clusters of dwellings constitutes relatively homogeneous units (similar socio-economic characteristics of their inhabitants), within a mixed neighbourhood.

The commercial facilities are quite scarce, owing to the relatively low density and largely gated character of the area, so it relies on the malls and shopping facilities of nearby areas. The relative isolation of the neighbourhood contributes to its image of tranquillity and exclusivity, and residents rely on private cars, owing to weak public transport links (few buses and a recently built metro line) used mostly by young people and the domestic servants working in the neighbourhood.

Owing to the exclusive character of most of the neighbourhood, property prices are very high, with significant internal variation reflecting the characteristics of the different areas.

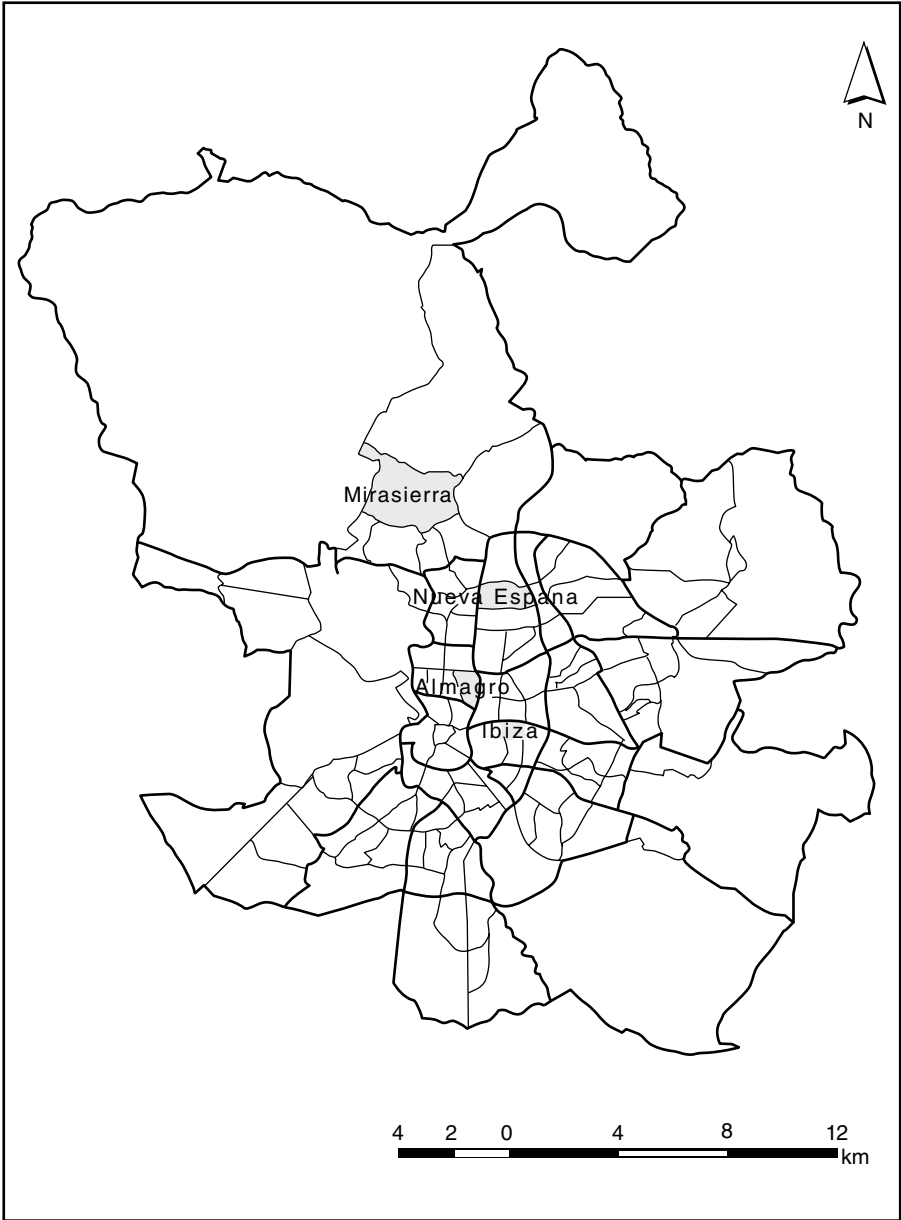


Figure 1.1 Locations of the four neighbourhoods of Madrid included in the research. Source: Elaborated by the GIS Laboratory (CCHS-CSIC) with data from the Municipality of Madrid.

Milan neighbourhoods

The Municipality of Milan is at present organised into eight administrative districts, these are quite large and encompass several neighbourhoods. The choice of the neighbourhoods both within and outside the city of Milan was based on both previous research (Pratschke, 2007a, b; Cousin, 2008) and census data. The four areas considered in this research are: the old city centre, Inganni-Lorenteggio, Arese and Vimercate (Figure 1.2).

The city centre

(central homogeneous)

52% highly qualified professions

The city centre is delimited by the old Spanish walls, and it is the most ancient and historically rich part of the city, where great palaces and buildings of high standing were built. In addition, it is often in this part of the city where financial-economic activities are based as well as the most important cultural ones. The centre thus exerts a strong pull from different aspects and remains the preferred location for bourgeois residents.

Arese

(peripheral homogeneous)

Arese is a municipality of 19,344 inhabitants, 15 km north-west of Milan. It is characterised by urban residential buildings on the model of pavilions, immersed in several green areas, among which the most important is Parco delle Groane.

The typology developed by Cousin (2012) classifies it as an 'upper-middle area of the private managers, engineers and technicians of enterprise', where there is an overrepresentation of corporate executives and engineers.

It is also an interesting case for its history, because in the 1970s and 1980s, it was the most important seat of Alfa Romeo. In the early 1980s, 19,000 employees and blue collar workers were still employed in this location. In the mid 1980s, the brand was bought by Fiat and finally closed. Managers and executives from this automobile company remained in the area, even after the dismantling of the plant. At present, there is a large empty lot, and several regeneration projects have been discussed. This is one of the few districts with homes based on the American suburb model: with green spaces, security systems, facilities for residents (swimming pool, tennis, basketball). To enter, one must be invited by a resident, as there is no public access.

Inganni-Lorenteggio

(central mixed)

In this district, middle-class and upper-middle-class residents rub shoulders with the working class. It is located in the south-western part of the city. The district is quite large and is composed of several blocks, which clearly mark the distance between 'good well-off blocks' and 'popular ones'. Within this district lies the Jewish community with its own schools and its synagogue between the good blocks and the housing estates. These council-housing blocks were built during the 1970s for the (executive) employees of public companies [Ente Nazionale Energia Elettrica (National Agency for the Electric Energy)].

Traditionally, the southern district was working class, as it was the seat of several manufacturing plants. We can therefore say that in this neighbourhood, different populations are present, and there is a social mix. This does not mean that populations mix with each other, as they do not seem to socialise often. The Jewish area is closely guarded by one or two police officers; all other buildings are closed communities.

Vimercate

(peripheral mixed)

Vimercate has a population of 25,787 residents and is located 23 km north-east of Milan in the heart of Brianza. It is near several major advanced tertiary-sector companies (IBM, STMicroelectronics, Alcatel, Cisco). It is connected by motorway to Milan, and there is a frequent bus service to Milan, but no subway or train.

In the 1950s, it was the seat of many manufacturing plants. The IT companies established there are a magnet for highly educated residents. It followed the same pattern as Milan in terms of tertiarisation and became part of a high-tech district.

It is composed of six districts: Vimercate North, Vimercate Central, Vimercate South, Ruginello, Oreno and Velasca. Vimercate South has developed mainly around 'Torri Bianche' and is tall towers.

Ruginello developed recently with new buildings of high quality that won the 'new global design' prize of the International Architecture Awards of Chicago. The districts of Velasca and Oreno are composed of individual houses.

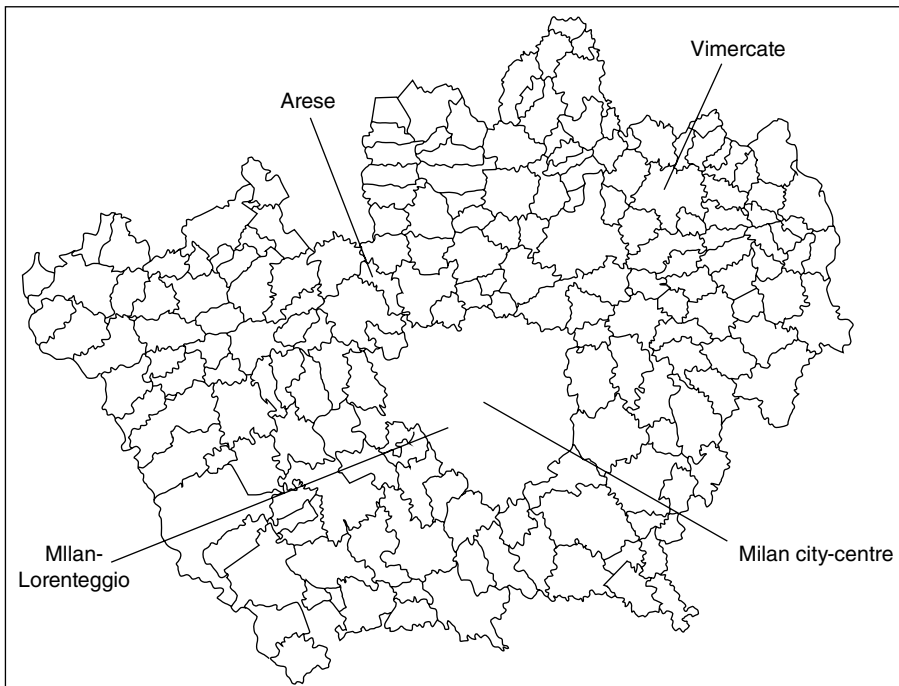


Figure 1.2 Locations of the four neighbourhoods of Milan. Source: Vonvikken [CC-BY-SA-3.0-it (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/it/deed.en>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

Lyon neighbourhoods

The choice of neighbourhood in Lyon was based upon INSEE statistics based on the census. Lyon's east-west divide made the choice of suburban municipalities relatively easy. The fragmentation of the communal map in France (36,000 municipalities) allowed us to compare neighbourhoods in the city centre with entire municipalities in the suburbs. As in the case of Paris, the municipalities we selected were not too far from the city (clearly, suburban neighbourhoods but not in the distant periphery) (Figure 1.3).

Le 6ème arrondissement, la Tête d'or

(central, homogeneous)

The neighbourhood close to the Parc de la Tête d'Or is historically one of the two bourgeois areas in the city centre near a park. The other one, Ainay, concentrates more of the old Catholic upper-middle classes, while there are more managers living in la Tête d'Or. This neighbourhood also includes the most prestigious high school (i.e. *lycée*) in Lyon, the *lycée du Parc*, which sends its students to Paris 'Grandes écoles'. It is classically a solid right-wing constituency.

It is particularly interesting for us, as incomes and housing prices have increased more in that neighbourhood than in any other part of Lyon between 1989 and 2003, reflecting the rising number of managers.

It is seen as one of the dynamic neighbourhoods of Lyon, where a 'grand project' was located, the creation of the '*Cité internationale*'.

It comprises about 50,000 inhabitants, mostly middle or upper-middle class.

Jean Macé, part of the 7th arrondissement

(central, mixed)

Jean Macé is a classic old neighbourhood in the centre of Lyon with a mixed population. It was neither trendy nor gentrifying at the time of our research.

Within the 7th arrondissement of Lyon, the limits of the neighbourhood comprise the Jean Macé neighbourhood but also the rue de la Guillotière and rue Garibaldi.

It is close to the universities, not far from the river or the neighbourhood 'La Guillotière', which comprises an important northern African population.

There are many small-scale buildings of different quality. Although very central, it is not particularly dynamic and includes traditional small shops, bars and restaurants.

Dardilly

(peripheral, homogeneous).

Outside Lyon, the western periphery comprises the wealthiest middle-class and upper-middle controlled municipalities. Dardilly is close to other wealthy municipalities such as Ecully or Charbonnière, Tassin la demi Lune, classical rich 'suburbs' in the English sense of the word that developed in opposition to the city of Lyon.

Dardilly offers a green and relaxed environment for upper-middle classes and managers in particular, with many good houses with gardens, a classic town centre with posh shops and services. Most people use their cars.

In association with neighbouring municipalities, Dardilly has created a science park with more or less high-tech firms employing 25,000 persons.

Dardilly has been a favourite location for upcoming managers and has seen a high increase in average income over the past two decades.

Villeurbanne (residential districts)

(peripheral, mixed)

Villeurbanne is the largest commune of Lyon's suburb with more than 145,000 inhabitants. It was historically one of the working-class areas with a strong concentration of social housing. Major industrial firms were located there. The municipality was the fiefdom of a socialist leader who became a minister in the 1980s, Charles Hernu. Villeurbanne has historically received waves of old Jewish, Vietnamese, Armenian and particularly Italian immigration. This typical working-class suburb used to be very different from bourgeois Lyon, but the population has become more diverse. Villeurbanne is now connected to Lyon by two metro lines. A university and an engineering school are located there. More and more lower-middle class people have moved there and, more recently, more managers and engineers. We included in the sample its residential area, with the mixed populations of Perralière, Grandclément, Gratte-ciels and Maison Neuves de Villeurbanne.

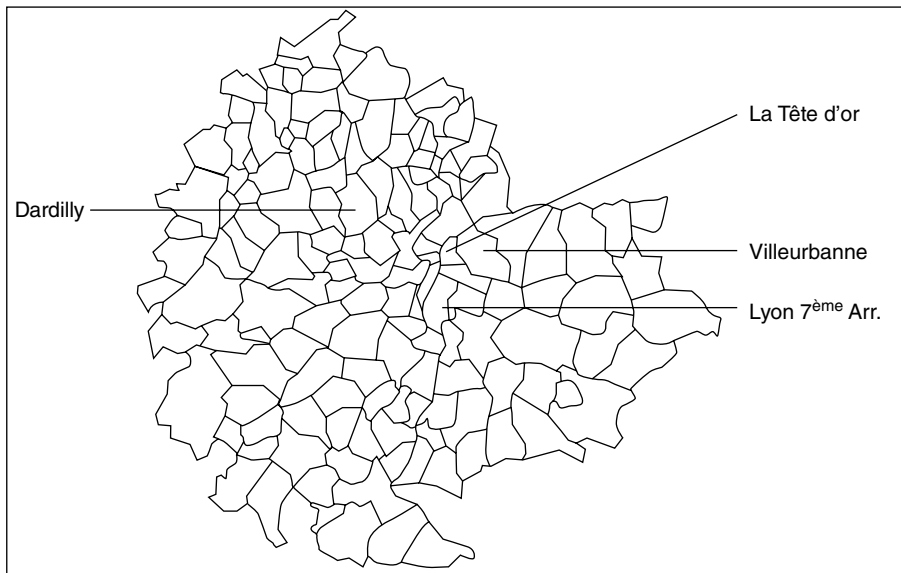


Figure 1.3 Locations of the four neighbourhoods of Lyon.

Paris neighbourhoods

The selection of neighbourhoods in Paris, for example, was based on the precise analysis and classification carried out by Edmond Préteceille (2006) of the social composition of the small statistical units comprising neighbourhoods in the city (Figure 1.4).

Paris, 15th arrondissement, Beaugrenelle

(central, homogeneous)

The 15th arrondissement, in south-west Paris, has become increasingly '*embourgeoisé*' over the years, attracting generations of managers who preferred this arrondissement over the more traditionally bourgeois 16th arrondissement on the west side of Paris.

Beaugrenelle is a modern neighbourhood developed during a short period in the 1970s when modernist high-rise towers were built in Paris, on the northern border of the former Citroen car factory, on the edge of the Seine river, facing the western part of Paris.

It is a mix of headquarter firms, a commercial centre, high-rise towers for managers and the remains of traditional Parisian streets, hence a strange mix. Prices have increased more than twofold during the late 1990s and 2000, making it one of the most expensive neighbourhoods in Paris. Good schools are located in the surroundings. Beyond the relatively small commercial centre, there are a range of high-end shops, bars and restaurants close to the metro station.

It is relatively easy for managers to come and live there.

In contrast, this is not a traditional Paris bourgeois neighbourhood with a strong sense of community, except on the eastern side.

17th arrondissement, north, bordering the Boulevard Périphérique, on the margin of Les Batignolles and 10th arrondissement, around the western side of Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est

(central, mixed)

The North 17th is close to trendy 'Les Batignolles' but is somewhat isolated between the limits of Paris (Boulevard Périphérique), several social housing estates and the railway lines. It is the Paris periphery with classic Parisian streets and housing, a lack of amenities and no prestigious schools in the public sector.

As in other parts of Paris, there is a continuous relative embourgeoisement but still a robust degree of mixing owing to social housing and some low-quality housing in some streets. However, there are also several nice buildings, and it is within the Paris municipality, hence the attraction for managers (and engineers in particular). It also borders the municipality of Levallois Perret, a former communist industrial municipality that had been massively reshaped by a right-wing mayor who attracted firms and thousands of middle-class families in newly built flats.

The 10th arrondissement neighbourhood around the two stations, Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est, has some classical Haussmanian housing and, like many neighbourhoods near stations, a mixed population. Barbès, the most ethnically diverse part of Paris, is located just north of the Gare du Nord, and there is an active Indian community. Gare du Nord and Gare de l'Est are also the railway stations for the eastern and northern suburban population coming to Paris, i.e. young working-class people from different ethnic backgrounds. Fighting between gangs sometimes occur in the station. It is also a neighbourhood with many cars, as the Magenta Boulevard is a major north-south artery. There is also an important covered market, average schools in the public sector and a couple of Catholic schools.

However, things have changed: the continuous embourgeoisement of Paris has reached the 10th, and more middle classes have come to this very central Paris area. The restructuring of traffic has improved the quality of life together with the restructuring

of Gare du Nord following the development of the Eurostar, and trains to Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany have brought in different types of people to the neighbourhood. It remains a very mixed neighbourhood with an increasing number of managers and middle-class people choosing to live there. This has been reflected in the house prices, that increased more quickly than elsewhere in Paris, starting from a low level.

Le Vésinet

(suburban, homogeneous)

Le Vésinet is a residential suburb on the western side of Paris, beyond La Défense. It was once a summer residential area for the Paris bourgeoisie; hence there is a range of large, beautiful, nineteenth-century houses with gardens. The suburb was built as an 'English' suburb with large green areas and parks around a small river.

It lies in the middle of Paris's western suburbs, where increasing numbers of managers have settled over the years. Further west lies St Germain en Laye, the royal town place with a prestigious international lycée.

Being close to La Défense (Paris's business district where top French international firms and banks have their headquarters), it is a natural location for managers. Top managers live in the most beautiful houses, €1 million houses (and much beyond), while others live in flats in two-storey buildings or smaller houses.

It is a pleasant environment for typical family life with a good school, leisure facilities, lots of green spaces, many bicycle lanes and a Réseau Express Régional (RER) station (suburban train) linking Le Vesinet both to La Défense and to the heart of Paris in 15 min. This 'ideal' Parisian suburb is an independent municipality with services, a small hospital, shops and a Saturday morning market.

There is a strong sense of belonging here; also, Le Vesinet borders a couple of municipalities with important concentrations of social housing and diverse ethnic groups. Maintaining 'the quality of life' of Le Vésinet is an important concern.

Fontenay sous Bois

(suburban, mixed)

Fontenay sous Bois is a municipality on the east side of Paris, southeast. It is part of the Val de Marne département, i.e. one of the two pillars of the historic red belt. On the northern side of Fontenay, one can see the dense high-rise social-housing estates from the twentieth century, some of the poorest and ethnically diverse municipalities. Further south, by contrast, one finds some of the middle class or upper-middle class municipalities.

Fontenay sous Bois seems in between two worlds. On the one side is a historic, small town centre organised around the church and a very dynamic Catholic community. On the other side, lies a large commercial centre, a motorway and a large RER station. The other RER station is in a rather cosy neighbourhood with many newcomers emigrating from Paris, managers in particular, looking for a house and a garden for the children, using the rapid access (15 min) to the centre of Paris.

In Fontenay, one sometimes feels part of a provincial French small town with a market, small shops, a very homogeneous middle-class population sending their children to the good private schools within Paris and a local, well-established local bourgeoisie. In some other corners, one feels part of the anonymous suburb with small houses, some buildings, unplanned chaotic urban development and a life organised around the shopping centre and the train to Paris.



Figure 1.4 Locations of the four neighbourhoods of Paris.

Before delving into the empirical analysis, and addressing the question about the formation of a European managerial class in the making, it is useful to present the sample of this research, its main socio-demographic and economic features, and how it has been selected.

Who Are These European Managers?

Comparative research is fraught with difficulties, and the selection of categories is always an issue. The analysis presented here about the middle and upper-middle classes in the three countries led us to select managers (including engineers in the private and public sectors) as a relatively comparable group. While this selection process seemed clear regarding France and Spain, it was less obvious in the case of Italy, where entrepreneurs constitute powerful groups, and managers tend to operate in their shadows. Yet, the lack of sociological studies on managers in the Italian context was one reason why we favoured their inclusion in this research.

The sample is composed of 480 managers in the four cities, with 30 interviews carried out in each of the 16 neighbourhoods included in the research. The sample is not meant to be statistically representative. It is a qualitative typological sample, which means that managers were selected according to several variables that were considered relevant for understanding the values, practices and strategies of the respondents. In the introduction, as well as in the previous paragraphs, we have stressed the importance of the urban dimension to structure our analysis, and the sample was constructed along these dimensions: managers living in the city centre versus suburbs and living in socially homogeneous versus socially mixed neighbourhoods. In addition, three main

Table 1.3 Main socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the respondents by city (%)

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>
Age (mean, years)	44	41	43	45
Women in the sample	36	29	38	33
Living with partner	79	83	64	69
Living with children	75	71	55	70
<i>Original social class</i>				
Service class	62	36	51	46
Intermediate Class	35	43	39	39
Working class	3	21	10	15
Working public sector	30	8	30	9
Working in SMEs	24	50	27	29
Personal income (median €)	5000–5500	3500–4000	3500–4000	3000–3500

criteria were retained to select respondents: (1) level of education, selecting managers with at least a university degree, most often at master's level; (2) autonomy at work, meaning the capacity to manage time and the content of one's own work; (3) responsibility at work, for example, coordinating a team or deciding upon the careers and salaries of other workers. Interviews in this study were carried out with individuals who fulfilled these criteria. Within these dimensions, different characteristics of managers were considered, to yield different qualitative profiles: gender, public- and private-sector employees, and size of the company (see Table 1.3).⁸

The sample is rather homogenous in the four cities, at least as far as basic socio-demographic and economic characteristics are concerned. Respondents' ages are relatively similar in all cities, considering that we were looking for active adult managers, that is, people who were in the middle (or second half) of their professional careers. In Milan, the highest figure is not the result of a higher number of managers at the end of their career, but rather the result of the lack of very young managers working in firms and public administrations (there are no managers under 30 years of age in the Milanese sample). This is not surprising in the Italian context, where seniority (and not meritocracy) is often the first criterion for career progression, and young people are always supposed to have a long climb up the ladder before becoming '*dirigenti*'. Statistical data concerning the average age for the Italian private and public '*dirigenti*' report a higher figure than for the rest of Europe: 47 years, the highest in Europe, with France at 44 and Spain at 45 (Manageritalia, 2012). By contrast, in all other cities, we do have a representation of this age group.

The great majority of the respondents are living with their partners and have at least one child. However, female managers from Spain and Italy differ greatly from their equivalents in France in this respect: they have fewer children and are less likely to be married. Important differences exist between the different national contexts, and in this case it is not so much the city that makes the difference as the country. In Spain and Italy, almost half of the female respondents are single; by contrast, 80% of French female managers have a partner or are married. Labour-market conditions are the obvious suspects for explaining these differences. Southern European labour markets are not especially women-friendly, either in terms of equal opportunities or in terms of working hours. Managers often require extensive working hours, thus making it

difficult to reconcile work and family life. In statistics on the satisfaction of working women reconciling work and family life, Spanish women come first in the ranking of dissatisfied individuals, followed by Italians (Eurostat, 2009). Women reaching high positions in the labour market in these contexts often sacrifice their family life, and are more likely than in other contexts to recall the features of the 'planning careers' that Catherine Hakim (1995, 2004) described in her studies, that is, women without any familial obligations. The relatively high fertility rate in France (over two children per woman) and the very low rates in Italy and Spain (slightly over 1.3) are confirmed in the case of the female managers in our sample.

Milan is the city with the lowest median income range: Milanese managers earn less even though they are older. They earn significantly less than their colleagues in Paris but also less than in Lyon and Madrid. Results appear in line with statistical data: Eurostat (data can be downloaded for free at http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database) stresses that Italian salaries are lower than German, French and Spanish salaries (even Greek salaries).⁹ Data referring only to Italian '*dirigenti*' show that in 2011, the annual salary before taxes was approximately €105,000 and approximately €53,000 for the '*quadri*' (OD&M Consulting, 2012).

Finally, some information about respondents' parents was gathered to gain some idea of their social class of origin and potential social-mobility patterns. There are significant differences according to the city. In Paris, there is the higher (and more consolidated) segment of the bourgeoisie, since, for more than 60% of managers, their parents belonged to the same service class, while Lyon had the lowest figure. The two French cities, as so often happens during the analysis, are at extreme poles of a continuum where Madrid and Milan are somewhere in the middle. In Madrid, 51% of the respondents' parents belonged to the 'service class',¹⁰ and in Milan 46%. In contrast, Lyon is the city where we found the highest social mobility, with 21% of our respondents declaring that their parents belonged to the working class. Once again, Paris was at the other extreme of the continuum, with only 3% declaring a low social origin.

Managers as Modernising Agents

Do these managers have a more or less shared perception of belonging to a social group with specific traits and perceptions of the world? Does the fact of sharing a more or less fuzzy position in the social structure make these managers actually share the same approach towards the consequences of globalisation on their national societies and/or a logic of 'partial exit' regarding their local and national spheres? Is it possible to identify a specific axiology (set of social and political values) that differentiates this group from the rest of their societies? Our interviews were conducted mostly between 2006 and 2008, i.e. before or at the beginning of the crisis.

Analysis of managers' attitudes towards globalisation and Europeanisation, as well as their social and political values reveals evidence of specific combinations of identity elements that characterise this group in relation to their national societies; it also illustrates the existence of parallels between these groups across countries, their parallel attitudes towards European and national state institutions, and their attitudes towards the role of markets. The analysis reveals the gradual emergence of a European managerial class that has internalised the basic premises of a global liberal order, at least as far as values and attitudes are concerned.

Collective identities have been defined as ‘individual knowledge about the belonging to a social group, which is endowed with affective and evaluative meaning’ (Schlenker, 2011). Following this line of thought, social entities (groups, communities, classes) may differ in the mix of traits that form the basis of their collective identity. This identity operates as a more or less integrated symbolic structure, providing continuity and consistency to individuals’ approaches towards their belonging to that entity.

The value systems and sets of beliefs of citizens constitute the basis upon which their attitudes towards society and politics are grounded. This normative foundation strongly conditions the behaviour of individuals regarding the collective sphere; therefore, this seems a vital issue for understanding the role played by managers in their societies. In accordance with the partial exit hypothesis, managers are likely to have strong views on the changes required in their societies, in order to legitimate their own interests and position within national social and political orders. Indeed, managers see themselves as a modernising elite, contributing to the transformation of their society often viewed as backward and requiring significant changes,¹¹ though to different extents in the four cities. In the French cities, managers feel they are the vanguards of their society, the elite with the mission of changing society, while this is much less so in the Milanese case, and the Madrilenian managers lie in between. The different attitude of these managers partly reflects the different national trajectories depicted in the previous paragraphs: while in France, managers were seen as the symbol of modernisation, and they feel the champions for modernising the country, this is less the case in Italy and Spain (see section ‘National Patterns in the Rise of Managers: France, Italy and Spain’). Milanese managers share common ideas on the direction of change to modernise their country but are reluctant to see themselves as leading these changes.

Globalisation is good for you: tensions between markets and state

Globalisation is likely to be a major resource for those who have the assets to ‘exit’, or ‘partially exit’, particularly via education. Globalisation trends increase economic competition between firms, states, social groups and individuals; and while this varies from one sector to the next (not just private versus public sector), managers are well aware of this competition and are likely to benefit from it. Globalisation may even become a new political cleavage (integration/demarcation according to Kriesi *et al.*, 2008) in Rokkan’s terms, and managers, with their level of education, should clearly be among those identified along this cleavage.

On average, four out of five managers in the sample consider that globalisation constitutes an opportunity for economic development and progress, while fewer than one in 10 think that unemployment is a necessary consequence of the process of opening up their country’s economy to global markets (Table 1.4).

Contrasting these findings with the Eurobarometer’s survey (Eurobarometer, 2008), managers clearly stand apart from the rest of the population sharing a much more

Table 1.4 Perceptions of globalisation (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Globalisation as an opportunity	Agree	92	78	89	89	82
	Disagree	8	22	11	11	13

positive stance on globalisation. Indeed, only 50% of Italians and Spaniards share the idea that globalisation constitutes an opportunity for economic development, and the percentage is even lower for French citizens.

The qualitative material provides substantial evidence on globalisation as an opportunity. A 47-year-old Milanese marketing manager (man), living in the city centre illustrates the tensions that globalisation entails:

We often see globalisation in negative terms, foreign workers who come to our country and take up our jobs, though we don't see that globalisation opens up terrific opportunities, new markets. We can sell our products in these new countries; we are talking about millions of people.

Most of the Milanese managers tell similar stories, stressing the opening up of new markets and opportunities that globalisation brings. They equally stress that Italy is not well equipped either politically or economically to compete in or to penetrate these markets. In the economic sphere, they see too many rigidities in the labour market compared with the UK, the US, France and Germany, which they see as better equipped. Interestingly, French managers, who can often seem ambiguous regarding globalisation, do not appear in this research. Either they do not feel strongly about it, or it may not be perceived as a legitimate attitude to express views against globalisation.

In all four cities, managers feel that their country is not well equipped to compete in the globalised world: they complain about the lack of competitiveness, and they fear the risk of losing position in global markets for European firms. Milanese managers seemed to be the most sensitive to this factor, as they emerge from decades of very low economic growth and loss of competitiveness, while our Madrilenian informants, still at the peak of economic growth of Spanish society (i.e. just before the crisis) seem less concerned about (or aware of) the risks derived from the diminishing competitiveness of the Spanish economy since the country joined the Euro (which they were to become painfully aware of in the years that followed the fieldwork of our research).

To become more competitive, all managers in the four cities claim the need for structural reforms, and in this respect, they reflect the feelings of their respective societies, where the idea of the need for change is relatively widespread (European Values Survey; data can be downloaded for free at <http://www.gesis.org/unser-angebot/daten.../european-values.../data-access/>). Our managers appear neither conservative nor radical. The status quo is not on the cards for them, but neither is revolution, of course.¹² Those reforms do not need to radically transform the essence of their societies (the percentages of those asking for radical reform are relatively low in all four cities), but they support changes in some specific areas of the economy (labour markets, research and innovation, opening up towards foreign markets, etc.) and society (education, welfare programmes, civil society involvement, etc.). A positive attitude towards globalisation and the need for reforms are equally claimed by men and women, and by managers working in the public and private sectors as well as in large or small and medium-sized companies (Table 1.5).

As far as the economy is concerned, changes are desired in one particular direction: less government, more market, and the UK is rather seen as a model (except in France). The narratives of respondents call for reducing taxes and for more flexible labour markets. A Parisian working for an accounting firm puts it: 'We need total flexibility on the labour market, the American model'. Another one, a young engineer

Table 1.5 Attitudes towards reforms (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Changes needed in society	Radical	6	4	4	6	5
	Structural	47	45	19	45	39
	Several aspects	47	50	68	47	53
	Remain as it is	0	1	9	2	3

from Lyon takes a classic view about what should be changed in France: ‘the importance of the state, the effectiveness of public service, overtaxing and taxation in general’. An engineer in Paris, aged 60, criticises the fact that in France there are ‘too many groups with rights, social rights usually, that cannot be challenged’. A 35-year-old woman from Lyon working in the private-sector uses business language to refer to France: ‘too many rigidities on the labour market, working costs are too high, too many social costs for the employers’. French managers are worried: ‘We have to accept what is unavoidable, changes in the world, to stop tensions and conflicts about existing rights’. In the same vein, another manager in Le Vesinet is worried about ‘the lack of spirit of competition, entrepreneurship and the heavy administration’. The work culture, or rather the supposed disappearance of it, is a mantra for managers often characterised by long working weeks:

we need to give more importance to work. Young blasé people don’t want to do anything; they don’t want to make an effort to earn their living. We need to give value to work effort, discipline, that is, the classic old conservative view of young people ... over centuries.

More market-minded managers see the UK as the model to follow, and one declares: ‘we have to review the ideological model concerning civil servants in the direction pointed out by Tony Blair’.

Some of the same arguments also clearly emerge among the Milanese respondents, although for them, France is often a model to follow and, quite interestingly, for the very same reasons that the French respondents identify as limits to their competitiveness. The Milanese respondents frequently make reference to the good functioning of the French state and French bureaucracy (compared with the Italian one), and they often quote the strong sense of the state among French citizens, and their sense of the public good. What clearly emerges from the Milanese respondents is the current lack of, and therefore the strong need for, a functioning state, which could also boost economic activity and support entrepreneurs who are pictured as the real vanguard of society by the large majority of private managers (76%).

Companies and entrepreneurs are indeed considered the *avant-garde* of the transformation of their societies by 60% of respondents. Yet, significant differences emerge between public and private managers, with the former divided into two equal groups, therefore much less convinced about the innovative and leading role of capital, with the private managers being more supportive of capital. Differences surface between cities in this respect. Parisians appear, again, as the most sceptical about the supposedly leading role of capital in the transformation of society, and Milanese managers embrace the reformist capacity of firms with above-average emphasis. This is also due to the features of the productive system, and the perceived role of the entrepreneurs

in the different countries, as it is well known that the Italian productive system is based on small and medium-sized firms led by small entrepreneurs who are considered the real driving force of the economic system.

The need to reform the labour market in the direction of more flexible arrangements goes hand in hand with a sceptical attitude towards the trade unions, seen as 'far too conservative, strongly protecting some employees, particularly public ones' to put it in the words of a Parisian manager (woman), who summarises well the narratives of managers in all four cities.

To accomplish the modernisation and flexibilisation of the labour market, managers wish to see the reduction in the size of the state and its public administration. Three indicators were used in the questionnaire referring, in one way or another, to the notion that the state may be hindering economic growth through its 'excessive' size and lack of efficiency. Thus, when asked about whether they think that the number of civil servants in their country should be reduced (implying that it is, in fact, too large, and is therefore draining resources from society that could be put to better use by the market), three-quarters of managers explicitly support this argument, while roughly one in five explicitly reject it. The divide between managers working in the public and private sector in this regard is strong. Public managers in all four cities do not think this is really a priority, but they all agree that the public administration should be reformed towards a more meritocratic and efficient way of working: four out of five private managers agree with reducing the size of the public administration. The variation between cities is also quite remarkable, with Parisian managers the least suspicious of public administration, and their Milanese counterparts holding the most negative impression about the size of public administrations. Significant differences emerge among the French managers, with the Lyonnais showing a strong opposition to the size of the public sector, in contrast with the more pro-state attitude of their Parisian peers.

Those indicators also reveal the limits of the argument: there is no unanimous pro-market zeal or hard neo-liberal views. If 76% of the interviewees support the reduction in the number of civil servants, 60% see the UK as a better model in terms of economic development (again, before the financial and economic crisis), only a third agree that privatised railways would work better. Parisian managers appear as the least in favour of privatised railroads (even when considering the higher presence of public managers in the sample), arguing clearly for state control in their narratives. These managers seem to emphasise market virtues, but, when faced with a concrete situation where the alternative between market and state is possible, their choice is not so clear cut, and at least a quarter of them prefer the state (Table 1.6).

From a structural reform of society point of view, the need to change the 'mentality' of citizens is called into question by both Milanese and French managers. The latter make claims for less chauvinism: 'We have a problem in terms of the integration of France in the world, of France in Europe: we have a problem of chauvinism in France'. Germany is better adapted to facing competition, like the Nordic European countries, because they are: 'less chauvinistic'. The school system is particularly under attack from those managers who are very critical of the actual values promoted at school often seen as too parochial. A 63-year-old private-sector manager in Le Vésinet makes a clear argument about what should be changed in France: 'the mindset that is learned at school which provokes the international isolation of France and makes people dependent upon other people, upon rights'. Furthermore, the school system is also seen as a way of reproducing massive inequalities that mostly benefit the children of teachers.

Table 1.6 Attitudes towards the public sector (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Number of civil servants should be reduced	Agree	60	80	72	86	76
	Disagree	32	18	26	12	21
Train company would work better if privatised	Agree	12	42	47	–	34
	Disagree	70	55	52	–	59
UK is better organised for economic development	Agree	40	57	71	65	61
	Disagree	35	36	26	26	30
Companies as the avant-garde of society's transformation	Agree	54	67	60	72	63
	Disagree	46	33	40	28	37

Milanese informants also argue for a change in mindset, stressing chauvinism and the education system. Milanese respondents fluctuate between distrust towards the Italian education system and praise for teachers who do their work despite the budget cuts they had to deal with in the last decades, though within the common framework of the importance of teaching *civiness*. These two quotes represent these two discourses. The first one is from a manager living in the mixed neighbourhood in the city centre of Milan, with two children, both attending a private school, and he puts it like this:

I do not trust the education system, too many reforms have been made in the last decades, and this means that one does not have a clear line where to go. Education is crucial, and we do not know what to do with our children. What is important is to prepare our children to go abroad, to feel citizens of Europe, and you have to start from the elementary school to do that. On the contrary, they (politicians?) only think to destroy what the previous government did. It must be an action of the state, and we do not have a state able to be a guide.

The second one is from another manager living in the same neighbourhood, part of a couple but with no children:

the government should devote more resources to education; teachers do a tremendous effort with few resources. And also more resources to innovation and the university. Schools should help to create a different *civiness*, a major awareness of the concept of citizenship with its rights and duties, it should help to make Italians feel Italians within Europe. There is a strong individualism, I don't want to be chauvinist, but we should work more on that; the public good is not perceived.

Other managers are more nuanced but advocate some changes as well. In Paris, the Anglo-American model seems slightly less attractive to our respondents than in Milan and Madrid (but the Paris sample comprises more public-sector managers); Germany, the Netherlands and Nordic countries are the 'models' quoted most often. Many want to adopt the school and the university system of Finland, and Sweden comes out as the most likely reference (an effect of Pisa ranking?). The German apprenticeship system is also mentioned in relation to the criticisms of the lack of links between the education system and firms. Mentioning models, a young engineer in Paris stresses the success of 'Nordic countries, Denmark, Sweden, a compromise between economic development and collective good'. Many more mention those Nordic countries, and Switzerland at times because of: (1) the strong economic development and flexibility to world

markets, (2) the protection of the environment, (3) a robust, flexible welfare state, (4) the role of women and (5) the fact that Nordic countries seem to be well adapted to Europe. Quite often, managers value the welfare state but criticise rigidities: the way some groups benefit and the lack of individual responsibilities that they think exist in Nordic countries. A female manager, aged 37, from the public sector praises the welfare state but then adds that what is missing in France is: 'the notion of individual responsibility in contrast with collective responsibility; people should rely less upon the welfare state as an automatic support'.

The welfare state is also seen as in need of reform to make it more efficient and effective; it is not its retrenchment that respondents are asking for but more effective policies to solve social problems. When respondents mention the USA or the UK as examples to follow, they all make clear that economic freedom is acceptable, but that we (as Europeans) need to stick to the European Social Model, which foresees a basic set of guarantees for citizens. This manager, a woman working in the private sector, living in the city centre of Milan, sums up the argument quite well by saying:

We are not ready for the US system; it is too radical. Our health system is very good; everyone has access to medical treatment; in the US you are left aside if you cannot pay. Everyone can have what they need in our system, it is universal, and it works. We should only limit the misuse, the ones who profit from the system without deserving it.

Marked interest for politics; relative trust in the state

We argued in the introduction that, according to some globalisation scholars, globalisation trends are supposed to lead to forms of disengagement or lack of interest in the city or the society people are living in. They articulate their interests on the global level or they do not care about politics, as the 'new rational citizen' of the world market society has other concerns than politics. Managers in this sample support neither of these two hypotheses, and managers in all four cities declare they are interested in politics even if they are not engaging that much in it; nor do they tend to make their voices heard in the public political arena.

Despite all the claims about the end of the nation state, politics remains mainly structured at the national level. Unsurprisingly, differences between national societies are particularly strong in this regard. Yet similar cleavages such as globalisation may lead to some convergence for those groups who benefit from the openness of national boundaries.

Education is the best predictor of political participation and/or interest in politics. Managers should stand apart from the rest of the population. Indeed, they do so, as comparing the level of interest in politics of managers with respect to the whole population shows some clear differentiation (Eurobarometer, 2008). Roughly 70% of our managers declared they were interested or very interested in politics. Accordingly, managers show a high level of participation in elections, with nearly all Lyonnais managers registered for voting, and with very high percentages (more than five-sixths in all other cases) in the rest of the cities.¹³ Such high rates of electoral registration seem to have translated into very high participation rates in the previous regional elections held in their country. Thus, while an average of more than 86% of managers had voted in those elections, the percentage was over 90% in the case of Milan and Lyon, and slightly below 80% in the cases of Paris and Madrid. In any case, these participation

rates were well above the general level in elections held at that level of government. Our managers therefore exert their voice when required, and they do not seem to exit or retreat from their society. To further witness their concern for politics, 90% of them declared that they talked regularly about political matters with friends. There is no retreat from an interest in politics therefore for these managers.

The higher level of interest in politics does not necessarily mean a higher approval of the role of political parties in the functioning of their societies. Thus, two out of five respondents, on average, do not trust political parties. Comparing the level of trust in political parties among our managers in different European cities, we can observe a relatively higher level of confidence in the role of these organisations among our French informants, while Milanese and Madrilenian managers show a very similar level of distrust towards them, reflecting their perception of these institutions as rent-seeking organisations more focused on the pursuit of their own interests than in the common good of their societies.

This negative opinion about political parties goes with the perception managers have regarding the extent to which politicians defend the interests of citizens like them. Managers in the four cities are not part of the most disenfranchised groups of society. Nevertheless, nearly two-thirds of managers in Milan and more than half in Madrid support that statement, thus reflecting their sceptical perception of the functioning of representative liberal democracies in contemporary societies. This is further confirmed by their distrust towards the National Parliament by Milanese managers at a time (2008) when the population was very critical of the (quasi-) end of the Berlusconi era. At the same time, French informants do not seem to have such a critical approach towards the way politicians operate or towards their Parliament, since only one-third of our Lyonnais managers, and a quarter of Parisian informants, support the statement that politicians do not defend the interests of people like them. The same holds true for trust in the state, with Lyonnais managers the most confident in the state with three out of five managers trusting it and the Milanese managers once again at the opposite end of the spectrum with more than half not trusting it.

The critical distance of these managers from politicians (not from politics) and the way politicians operate, in particular in the Milanese case, is a recurring trait in the narratives and practices of the managers in this sample. As we will see, these managers do not have many connections with the political sphere (see Chapter 4), and in their narratives they often stress precisely the distance between politicians, who are not used to working seriously, and themselves (managers in the economic and financial sector), who are used to working seriously, or, in the words of particularly critical Milanese managers, not 'wasting time in endless discussions, when there are some clear and important reforms to be made'.

The narratives regarding the predominance of 'clear reforms to be done' point to a technocratic understanding of the functioning of society and most notably of the economy, which is exemplified by the need for flexible markets. This goes hand in hand with the disappearance of ideologies. Managers agree with the statement that the classical political distinction between left and right is no longer valued. Our managers tend to consider this claim quite correct, since nearly two-thirds of managers in Lyon, and nearly 60% of our Milanese and Madrilenian managers, seem to agree with it. A significant number of our Parisian managers (45%) think in the same way, but they seem to be slightly less convinced by this type of argument than their peers. In the case of the Milanese managers, the narratives help to clarify and better articulate this statement, as

it is more the result of a variety of factors. The Milanese respondents are convinced that politicians belonging both to the right and to the left are first and foremost interested in their own survival, and this is one reason that makes them very similar. The other is that, even before the crisis, there was the feeling that some reforms needed to be made by whoever was in government and that the direction of these reforms was somehow necessary, with no degree of freedom.

When explicitly asked to place themselves on the classic seven-point ideological scale (from extreme right to extreme left), informants, even if with a bit of reluctance, make their choice and do not show a radical nature in their political profiles. Rather, they tend to confirm that ideologies seem to be blurred, as we have seen, and they all share a strong inclination towards market-friendly positions, which do not translate automatically into a right-wing vote. This indicates that there is no clear-cut relation between socio-economic conditions and a vote for the right. It may also reveal, as specialists of political parties suggest, that left or centre-left parties have for long espoused and taken on board the interests of those more 'culturally' orientated middle classes, including in economic terms. To take some examples, neither Spanish socialists nor Italian Democrats, nor, further afield, English New Labour have demonstrated any great hostility against the globalisation of markets and increased market (de)regulation.

Managers from our sample appear divided in relation to political affiliation along the lines of public and private employment sectors, and the city centre and suburb neighbourhoods. Classically, public-sector managers appear much more left-wing in their political orientation than their colleagues working in the private sector, and this is true in all cities.

Managers living in the suburbs appear to be slightly more to the right, and those living in the city centre seem to be more willing to express a more inclusive view of the city, with diverse ethnic and social groups. In Madrid, more than 40% of respondents place themselves in the centre (despite the fact that there are no centre political parties in Spain), and nearly half of Lyonnais informants say they identify with conservative ideological positions in contrast with only about 10% in the case of their Parisian peers, and in Milan 20%. This result points towards the predominance of significantly distinct ideological substrata in the four cities included in our research project (Table 1.7).

Table 1.7 Participation in political activities (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Participated in demonstrations	Yes	9	10	9	7	9
	No	76	90	91	93	89
Signed petition	Yes	14	23	17	19	19
	No	71	77	83	81	79
Attended a Political rally	Yes	12	30	7	47	25
	No	73	70	93	53	73
Talk about politics with friends	Yes	75	88	95	90	87
	No	7	11	5	10	8
Registered to vote	Yes	88	97	84	91	78
	No	7	3	10	8	7
Voted in last regional elections	Yes	80	92	80	91	86
	No	14	7	16	8	11

The sceptical attitude of the informants with respect to politicians, parties and traditional ideological cleavages, but not towards politics, reflects the low engagement in traditional activities that can be promoted by political parties, such as signing petitions, going to a demonstration or being a member of a political party.

Our managers are interested in politics, discuss political matters with their friends and vote. They cannot be described as neither disinterested in politics and political matters nor as exiting from their national societies, rather the contrary. Although they distrust political parties, and traditional ways of engaging in politics (e.g. being involved in political associations or activities), this is one of the motivations they give for not engaging in them, besides their lack of personal energy and available free time. Instead, they tend to favour a rather elitist and technocratic understanding of society, re-articulating the tension between the political elite and the technical intelligentsia put forward by Gouldner (1979) and Galbraith (1967) in the USA, with its emphasis on technical, scientific managerial skills and expertise.

Liberal Cultural Values: Managers as Post-Industrial Educated Cultural Species

In the wake of Inglehart's famous analysis of the liberal cultural values of post-industrial societies or his successors analysing the new politics of culture, managers from this sample are perfectly in tune with those values: they all share the same attitudes in supporting gender equality, equal rights regardless of any discrimination, and homosexuality is not an issue. Managers in our sample uniformly share individual liberal values, in all four countries; private individual preferences and behaviours are not questioned. This result, which is impressive across all four cities, shows that our managers share both an economic and a cultural common framework (Table 1.8).

Attitudes towards the welfare state and redistribution are instead more mixed, and contradictory, as well as perceptions of immigrant populations, in general considered as positive, but with some nuances.

Cultural values and economic interests: tensions in their support of welfare redistribution and immigration

The reasons why people support or reject state intervention in the welfare domain have drawn considerable attention from scholars in recent years (Moreno *et al.*, 2011). The basic approach to this debate follows a dual scheme simplifying citizens' stance on this issue: (1) by taking into consideration the economic gain citizens may obtain (or expect to gain) from that intervention and (2) by centring the analysis in the cultural

Table 1.8 Attitudes towards key social values (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Unemployment explained by	Women's work	0	2	3	3	2
Homosexuality as an acceptable way of living one's sexuality	Agree	88	78	90	84	85
	Disagree	5	10	7	16	5
Re-establishment of death penalty	Agree	2	17	6	7	9
	Disagree	95	81	94	93	90

or ideological positioning concerning distributive justice (the 'ideology factor') and those who deserve to be supported (against those who abuse the system). Neither of these two main factors should be interpreted too narrowly, since they both constitute stylised abstractions that could potentially conceal different elements within them. 'Self-interest', for example, may be a calculation that the individual makes incorporating all family members in the equation and not only with regard to her/himself. 'Ideology', or alternatively culture, might be a more complex container than it is sometimes conceived to be (such as when it is just equated with political orientation). In addition to individual-level characteristics, efforts have also been made to detect higher-level factors that may contribute to shape citizens' attitudes towards the welfare state. A high degree of variation in the responses to the question of redistribution emerged within our four cities. Thus, while more than 80% of our managers in Madrid supported that argument, only about a quarter of our Parisian informants did so. Our informants from Lyon and Milan occupied an intermediate position in that discussion.

The large variability appearing in that indicator probably reflects the different perceptions about the fiscal burden that is already being imposed on them by the taxation system, as well as general public and political debates about the relative magnitude of the intervention of the state in the economy in the different countries. When asked about the relative level of social protection in their country compared with other EU countries, the responses of Madrilenian managers help support this explanation, since more than half of them considered (rightly so) that the level of welfare protection in Spain was lower than in the rest of the EU. Meanwhile, French managers also considered (quite correctly) that the level of social protection in their country was not lower than in other EU countries.

As Calhoun (2003) points out, elites are generally in a particularly good position to support cosmopolitan attitudes and values, precisely because of their primacy in society. This argument emphasises the idea that the most affluent groups not only may benefit from immigration in terms of cheaper services and greater flexibility in the labour market, but also may appreciate the cultural diversity derived from the settling of foreign populations in their cities, while they rarely reside in the areas where most of those immigrants settle and generally do not experience any of the side effects that an increase in population in a specific territory may produce over the public services of the area. Bennett and colleagues (2009) have emphasised the rise of the cultural omnivore enjoying the diversity offered by globalisation. Immigration is often a good indicator to analyse cleavages, as sometimes the conflict associated with globalisation can be a good proxy for measuring some support for cosmopolitan ideas. By contrast, strong opposition against immigration has also fed the rise of anti-European, extreme-right or nationalist movements from the 'true Fins' in Finland to the National Front in France (Table 1.9).

Thus, when asked about the extent to which they consider immigration to make the receiving society culturally richer, the large majority of our managers in all cities expressed a positive opinion, a higher percentage compared with their respective national populations (European Social Survey, 2008). Would managers consider immigration to be an economic threat for their receiving societies? When asked about the extent to which they would make immigration responsible for the level of unemployment existing in their society, once again, they massively answer negatively in all four cities. Here, again, there is a sharp contrast between respondents and the rest of their national populations where the impact of immigration on the labour market situation

Table 1.9 Attitudes towards immigration (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Immigration makes society culturally richer	Agree	89	91	58	75	84
	Disagree	2	7	13	24	13
Unemployment is explained by high numbers of immigrants	Agree	2	2	3	4	3
	Disagree	98	98	97	96	97
Undocumented migrants should be regularised	Agree	29	29	49	65	44
	Disagree	54	63	45	35	49
There are too many migrants already	Agree	14	30	28	44	31
	Disagree	77	58	69	54	63

is considered negative by roughly half of citizens. The latter share the opinion that immigrants take away jobs from autochthonous workers. Managers from this sample seem significantly more cosmopolitan and pragmatic about the role of immigration on the economy or at least less threatened when it comes to their own jobs and interested in terms of services they may obtain, as they do not think (rightly for the moment) that they compete with immigrants.

Those ambiguities about immigration do come out in the narratives and statements during the interviews. Some French managers strongly emphasise the need for social cohesion, and their curiosity and interest in Nordic European countries in part reflect the perception that, on top of economic development and respect for the environment, they manage to integrate migrants. Very few take a systematic open view about the need to open frontiers more freely. By contrast, not many express hostility against immigrants, even if the theme emerges at times. Occasionally, it is mentioned quite crudely. One manager in the west of Paris is upset by French debates about immigration. He tries to take a 'reasonable' position by saying: 'I am not anti-immigrant but only up to a point, they have to respect our values, to integrate; they have rights, but now they want more rights'. In other words, immigrants might be accepted if they stay in their place. Another hesitates about immigration: 'Does France have too many immigrants?' he asked himself. 'Yes and no: there are too many concentrations of immigrants, too much regularisation (i.e. of undocumented migrants) but ...'. With this statement, he recognises that ageing European societies may need to turn towards immigration in order to compensate for some of the most negative consequences of the emerging demographic imbalances. Negative perceptions of immigrants also surface when talking about how the city or the neighbourhood they are living in has changed, and they often mention the higher presence of immigrants and ethnic shops as one of the problems that needs to be dealt with.

On the whole, managers in the four cities, despite differences in their perceived social status and in their national trajectories, share a rather homogeneous set of values that clearly separate them from the rest of the population. They share a common liberal cognitive framework considering globalisation in a positive way, and markets as the most efficient mechanism for the allocation of scarce resources (with some reluctance among those working in the public sector), though stressing at the same time the importance of state regulation and the need for a state that can efficiently support and protect entrepreneurs and their firms, as well as its citizens with claims for a more efficient welfare state. Furthermore, they share a common set of traditional individual

liberal values. All these elements provide evidence for the hypothesis of a managerial class in the making, a '*class in itself*' that shares the same position on the labour market, and the same cognitive framework, though not engaging that much in the public arena.

The next few paragraphs are devoted to understanding whether these managers can be defined as a European managerial class, and to analysing whether this social group bypasses the European dimension and is indeed projected into wider global horizons.

Cosmopolitanism, Europeanisation and Multilayered Identities

Managers of the four cities under investigation take Europe for granted; they feel that the European integration project may actually act as a springboard for going beyond Europe. As we have seen they are all in favour of globalisation: they see it as an opportunity for new markets to open. These managers also show rather well the complexity of territorial identity formation, as neither the national nor European level appears central in their feelings of territorial belonging, while they more often express feelings of belonging to their region or city, showing multilayered territorial identities.

The very concept of cosmopolitanism has in fact received considerable academic attention in recent years, and a series of dimensions included within it have been clearly systematised. As Szerszynski and Urry (2006) point out, cosmopolitanism implies a certain kind of connoisseurship about places, people and cultures. This knowledge about other peoples and places creates an awareness of interdependence, encouraging the development of a notion of belonging to the world community, and promoting a universal conception of human rights, combined with a cosmopolitan awareness of difference. Following Beck and Sznaider (2006), the formerly clearly separated notions of the global and the local, the national and the international, us and them, have become considerably blurred, merging into new forms that require both conceptual and empirical analysis. Cosmopolitanism can be found in specific forms at different territorial levels, and it may be practised in every field of social and political interaction (international organisations, bi-national families, neighbourhoods, global cities, production networks, etc.). In practical terms, it implies changes in ways of working and doing business, new forms of identity and politics, novel everyday life practices and new forms of sociability.

As a cognitive framework, cosmopolitanism encourages individuals to become 'citizens of the world', participating in a global moral community representing mankind, and committed to universal values. Cosmopolitans are therefore characterised as individuals whose cultural identities are not defined by a very specific and clearly bounded subset of cultural resources, in contrast to those more directly influenced by communitarian orientations (in particular, by considerations of ethnicity, religion and/or ideologies of patriotism or nationalism) (Schlenker, 2011). One of the most direct ways in which cosmopolitanism materialises is in the attachment to the idea of a united Europe that transcends the symbolic boundaries of the national state and promotes a series of values of interdependence, cooperate and solidarity within the citizens of a European supranational entity.

As Díez Medrano (2010, 2011) points out, over the past two decades national societies have experienced a process of 'Europeanisation', understood as the widening of the geographical scope of citizens' lives and economic and political activities. This was a direct consequence of the elimination of economic barriers and of the creation of a European space characterised by the deregulation of the transport sector and the

elimination of border controls, as well as EU policies (e.g. the Erasmus programme) aimed at creating European citizens who identify with this supranational political entity.

Globalisation and European integration are supposed to erode the capacity of nation states to sustain a singular political identity, eventually leading to the rise of some form of 'global citizenship' in which individuals would see their cosmopolitan values reflected. Nevertheless, it is also convenient to remember that long-established identities may pose significant barriers to the development of supranational attitudes among large segments of the population, and that in Continental Europe these barriers are very likely to be strongly territorialised (Le Galès, 2002; Kazepov, 2005). In fact, a revival of nationalism, or a more territorially localised mobilisation dynamic (notably at the regional/sub-national level), may occur as a response to the consequences of supranational integration and globalisation (Castells, 2006; Keating, 2013).

Acknowledging the existence of that process of 'Europeanisation', those who think that the emergence of a strong European identity is actually extremely unlikely point to the fuzzy boundaries of the EU, its very large internal cultural diversity, the deficit of institutional transparency, as well as the lack of democratic and symbolic references for identification, as the main explanations for the absence of European feelings of allegiance (Schlenker, 2011). In contrast to this diffuse European political entity, clearly demarcated nation states would still offer many more commonalities and historical memories to continue operating as the dominant 'imagined community', attracting the loyalty of European citizens.

Conceiving national and European identities in opposition to each other underestimates the complex nature of social identities, and it underestimates the importance of the local level of scale. A shift towards higher levels of political identity aggregation does not need to imply an equivalent decrease of identification with lower-level polities (Duchesne and Frogner, 2007). As Beck and Sznaider (2006) point out, identities on different levels do not stand in an exclusive relationship to each other, and local, national and European identifications are not necessarily antagonistic but can, in fact, be cumulative or nested. Social dynamics of transnational interdependencies, as well as changes in the lives of individual citizens derived from the process of European integration, are deemed to be essential for a sociological understanding of the process of emergence of a European identity. Sociologists assume that the growing interaction and interdependence between citizens of different European states is helping to slowly transform national societies and their boundaries, and it may be catalysing new forms of integration and solidarity at the European level (Mau and Büttner, 2010).

Managers' feelings towards European integration

In relation to the specific process of association with the idea of European integration, different authors have emphasised how those more likely to be involved are the educated middle classes, with the working classes relatively attached to the social spaces defined by national borders (Favell, 2008; Mau and Mewes, 2012). However, other authors have emphasised how the lower classes too have, to a certain extent, taken advantage of the new opportunities for movement in Europe (Díaz Medrano, 2010). When asked about their primary territorial identification, 40% of managers declared sub-national affiliations as the most important in their personal identification, a third referred to the national level, while Europe was only mentioned by a rather small percentage (14% on average) (Table 1.10).

Table 1.10 Primary identities at the territorial level (%)

<i>Belonging primarily to:</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Neighbourhood	19	3	3	2	7
City	17	10	28	19	18
Region	12	23	–	13	16
Country	27	30	40	33	33
Europe	10	12	8	19	12
World	7	22	18	12	14

Table 1.11 Feeling of being national and/or European (%)

<i>Feeling of being:</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Only national	4	10	5	12	8
More national than European	38	31	40	24	33
National as well as European	48	40	42	44	43
More European than national	7	11	3	16	9
Other	4	8	11	4	7

More than their region, our informants seem to identify with their city, and the Madrilenian managers were particularly numerous in this respect: the fact that regional identity is not particularly strong in the Autonomous Community of Madrid, to which the municipality of Madrid belongs, may explain part of the transfer of emotional affiliation from the regional to the city level.

Public- and private-sector managers' identification appears slightly different, with public managers more orientated towards the local level (the city in particular), while those working in the private sector are more likely to identify with the national and international levels. To further grasp the importance of being European, and witness how territorial identities are not exclusive, but rather nested, managers were asked about their feelings of being national and/or European, using a classical identity question (Table 1.11).

On the whole, more than half of the managers feel European, and two out of five managers of the sample feel more European than national, with some differences between the cities that partly reproduce the national patterns. Milanese managers are less likely to feel only Italian, preferring the European level of identification, while Madrilenian managers are at the other extreme (more so than the French respondents!).

The perception of the role played by the European nation states in world politics also tells us about the image that the EU integration process has among its citizens. Our managers tend to stand apart from their co-nationals quite substantially regarding this point, as they tend to have a much more positive image, and they do not think that belonging to the EU represents a handicap for the importance of their nation states. On the contrary, they consider Europe to represent the future for their countries (90% of our French and Italian informants agree with the statement that Europe represents the future of their countries), and almost no one in the four cities considers the EU as a risk. Furthermore, nearly 90% of our managers disagree with the argument that the process of EU integration could represent a threat to their national identity.

Table 1.12 Trust in European institutions (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Mean</i>
European Commission	Trust	54	68	44	70	58	63	48	65
	Distrust	34	26	33	27	–	35	22	30
European Parliament	Trust	70	73	51	55	62	59	51	63
	Distrust	17	19	31	45	14	37	22	31

Source: Our data compared with Eurobarometer 04/2008 EB69.

Taking Europe for granted and believing that it is where the future lies for their countries also means a relatively high level of trust in the European institutions and their functioning, despite the criticism of increased bureaucratisation that all managers report. Once again, managers in the four cities stand apart from their co-nationals, as they show higher levels of trust. Some of our managers appear also to be quite vocal in expressing their distrust of the European Commission, so their attitude towards this institution tends to be more negative than the national average (Table 1.12).

Only a slightly more nuanced picture can be perceived in relation to the question on managers' level of trust in the European Parliament which confirms again the general hypothesis about the highest level of 'Europeanism' of the well-to-do classes. All in all, these managers trust the European Parliament more than they trust their National Parliament, with a peak for the Milanese managers where four out of five managers did not trust their National Parliament, and the proportion falls to fewer than two out of five for the European Parliament.

Beyond Europe

Beyond attitudes towards Europe and the European Union, one might consider opinions regarding international organisations as indicators of attitudes towards a transnational political arena: trust towards the United Nations (UN) and towards the International Court of Justice (ICJ). These two organisations have their own goals and public image, so there will be specific reactions to each of them that will reflect these idiosyncrasies. There may also be some nationally specific perceptions about those institutions that affect the opinions of managers towards them. Finally, a third component of their expressed opinions on those two international institutions may reflect their attitude to the development of governance structures at the supranational level and, therefore, their attitude towards a transnational sphere where they could play a more or less active part (Table 1.13).

A strong divide is present between French managers and the managers living in two South European cities regarding the UN (an aspect that can be taken as a proxy of the attitudes of our managers towards the political dimension of globalisation). While the French managers express a high level of trust (Lyon is the city where the image of the UN shines more brightly) the others are much more divided, with half of them not trusting this institution (Madrid is the city where the UN image shines the least). One possible explanation for this divide has to do with the role (and the importance) of the respective countries within the UN and in particular within the United Nations Security Council, which is its most important organ. While France is a permanent member with veto power, and therefore has a strong voice, Italy and Spain are not. Managers in these

Table 1.13 Trust in international institutions (%)

		<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Trust in UN	Trust	71	79	51	48	–	53	41	61
	Distrust	29	21	35	52	–	47	46	39
Trust in ICJ	Trust	92	87	–	63	–	78	–	78
	Distrust	8	13	–	37	–	22	–	22

Source: Eurobarometer 04/2008EB69.

latter countries may therefore reflect this lack of voice, feeling less confidence, as they are not represented. Indeed, they are more likely to talk about reforming the governance of this organisation in their narratives and are more likely to criticise its (war and peace) resolutions.

In the case of the ICJ (another indicator of the attitudes of our managers towards the political dimension of globalisation), the general level of support seems to be significantly higher in all cases. Beyond that, the pattern of support replicates that commented on in the case of the UN, with our Madrilenian informants being the most sceptical about the functioning of this international organisation and those from Lyon being the most supportive, with Milan closer to Madrid and Paris closer to Lyon.

On the whole, our managers are familiar with ideas and institutions of international governance, and these seem to form part of their political picture.

Conclusions

This book is an empirical attempt to understand the extent to which both transnationalism and rootedness allow some groups belonging to the upper-middle classes to contest the existing social order and break away from other social groups, setting themselves apart as a new European upper-middle class in the making.

In this chapter, theoretical and methodological choices were clarified, making it clear how educated managers were selected, and presenting the features of the sample under investigation. We then entered into the empirical analysis exploring to what extent these people share a common set of values and attitudes, a common understanding of political issues, and to what extent their narratives regarding these issues converge. In this way, we grasped the development of ‘partial exit’ strategies, meaning that these managers are indeed articulating their attitudes and perceptions beyond local and national societies, yet these lay the ground for them to venture further afield.

Managers in this sample have internalised the basic premises of a closely interconnected global liberal order. They tend to show a much more positive opinion of globalisation than the rest of the population of their societies. Their attitudes towards European and national state institutions, and their opinions regarding international organisations, significantly reflect their attitudes towards the incipient emergence of a transnational political arena. The identification of these groups with the idea of a more closely integrated Europe seems to be growing in parallel with their feelings of distrust towards complex institutional arrangements of the European political architecture. Within those social spaces, they have developed their own perceptions regarding the nature and consequences of globalisation and Europeanisation processes.

The conception of national and/or European identities in opposition to each other clearly underestimates the complex nature of contemporary social identities, since the development of higher levels of political identity need not imply a decrease in identification with lower political levels. Our managers seem to be in the front line of a process of redefinition of citizens' 'multilayered' or 'nested' identities that allow them to combine the European dimension with more traditional nation-state, city and even neighbourhood types of territorial allegiance. Despite the trend towards an increasing projection of European urban upper-middle classes into the international sphere, managers continue to be part of their national and urban public arenas.

The extent to which managers think of themselves as modernising actors, charged with the mission of reforming their countries by gradually adapting it to the requirements of an increasingly transnational world, constitutes one of the most interesting aspects of this group, and it occurs to different extents in the various countries, each with its own national patterns of this social category. This process of self-representation as a modernising force is generally channelled through the demand for social, educational, political and economic reforms along the lines of the liberal political ethos, which prioritises values such as 'merit', 'effort' and 'work ethic', instead of more traditional social and political practices, which they consider to represent a burden for the modernisation of their societies. This cognitive framework also considers markets as the most efficient mechanism for the allocation of scarce resources, even though differences between public and private managers exist and are quite strong in this regard. Public managers are more cautious in celebrating the value of the markets and prefer to speak about reforms within the state and public administration, instead of cuts and austerity measures. Despite the discourses of political leaders about the need to regulate markets and introduce mechanisms that guarantee the protection of the common good in the face of the domination of private interests following the 2007 US financial crash, the narrative about the merits of free and unregulated markets among private managers has resisted surprisingly well, and still dominates, the economic and political arenas of Western societies (Crouch, 2011). The Euro crisis that started in 2008, and still affects European societies and economies more than four years later, has been managed with a narrative based on the need for austerity measures and structural reforms that should make European economies more competitive in global markets, reducing the competitiveness gap with emerging economies that do not recognise basic social rights or protect their citizens through labour-market regulations.

Managers clearly have their minds tuned to the globalisation of markets and the gap between increasing liberalisation that they support and the transformations of their own societies, but if they have globalised minds, their roots run deep in their cities.

Notes

- 1 See Goldthorpe (1982), Esping-Andersen (1993), Butler and Savage (1995) or Martin (1998) for a discussion of this in terms of the British middle class.
- 2 For a review on the French cadres, see Benguigui and Monjardet (1970), Boltanski (1982), De Singly Thélot (1986), Bouffartigue and Gadéa (2000), Bouffartigue (2001a, b), Gadéa (2003), Karvar and Rouban (2004), Bosc (2008), Buscatto and Marry (2009) and Amossé (2010). For recent transformations, see Bouffartigue *et al.* (2011).
- 3 See Bagnasco (1977), Crouch *et al.* (2001) and Trigilia (2002).

- 4 Few studies refer to the 'quadri' in the Italian context, but see Bianco and Luciano (1982), Bonazzi (1982) and Baldissera (1984). For entrepreneurs and their experiences, see Chiesi *et al.* (1981), Martinelli (1999) and Castagnoli and Scarpellini (2003). On entrepreneurial elites and their reproduction (Bongiovanni *et al.*, 2006; Carboni, 2007; LUISS, 2007), on local elites and their political and economic networks (Catanzaro *et al.*, 2002; Amaturò, 2006), and on the ruling political and economic class in the Italian context (mainly its absence and disappearance), see Bonomi *et al.* (2004), and De Rita and Galdo (2011). On managers, see Derossi (1978), Cesareo *et al.* (1979, 1983), Talamo (1979) and Rovati (1991).
- 5 Had we had more financial resources, we would have included the cases of Rome and Barcelona.
- 6 As mentioned above, our research was heavily influenced by Edmond Préteceille's analysis and comments. Paris was the first case study in our research where we tried out our hypothesis and case selection.
- 7 In Paris, three levels of social segregation were selected: high segregation, a mixed neighbourhood and a neighbourhood with a very low proportion of managers. We then moved to the simpler scheme of four neighbourhoods for three reasons: (1) to make the research manageable within the scope of resources, (2) because it proved particularly difficult to interview managers in relatively average or low-income neighbourhoods (was this linked to a fear of being seen in the 'wrong place?') and (3) because in the Paris case, we used Préteceille's typology relying on the 1999 census. By the time this research was started, that is after 2006, the low-income neighbourhood of Paris's 10th arrondissement had already become a mixed neighbourhood. Paris is an exception, as we kept the questionnaires from the 17th and the 10th arrondissements and aggregated them to represent one city centre, socially mixed neighbourhood.
- 8 For more information on the process of selection of our informants, see the Methodological Appendix.
- 9 For instance, in the manufacturing sector, the average Italian salary is €22,701, while in Germany it is €41,100, and in Spain it is €27,183.
- 10 In this case, we followed Goldthorpe's simplest classification, as the number of cases was too small to go into a more detailed analysis. In the 'service class', we included categories I and II; in the 'intermediate class', we included categories IIIa and IIIb, IVa, IVb and IVc; in the working class, we included categories V, VI, VII and VIII.
- 11 Interviews were carried out before the crisis or at the start of the crisis.
- 12 Again, these figures will have to be significantly adjusted, since the financial crisis hit southern Europe with a particularly high intensity, eroding a significant portion of the trust in institutions.
- 13 In the Italian case, this is not applicable, as citizens do not need to register in any list.

Managers in the City: Rooted and in Control—The Game of Distance and Proximity

In previous phases of capitalist development, bourgeois groups led the process of reshaping the city, adapting it to their own expectations and interests. Research on European cities has therefore stressed the formation of bourgeois neighbourhoods, and the long-term influence and investment of upper social strata in city centres or in residential suburbs (Benevolo, 1993; Berengo, 1999; Pinol, 2003). Despite exceptions (i.e. industrial cities, in particular) European cities have not traditionally been dominated by working classes who were sent away to the periphery. In comparative terms, and with a large diversity among them, continental European cities were characterised by relatively lower levels of inequality (thanks to welfare-state redistribution) but significant levels of social segregation partly explained by the strategies of the middle classes (Préteceille, 2007; Fujita and Maloutas, 2012). The pattern of evolution of European cities cannot be analysed (with some exceptions) in terms of declining urban centres, massive suburbanisation and middle-class flight (Phelps *et al.*, 2006).

The urban and spatial dimension has to be taken into account for the understanding of social class, something essential considering how territorialised European societies in fact are. The central purpose of this chapter is to analyse managers' residential choices and their interaction with their urban environment. Recent research has analysed the spatial dimension of class at a European scale (Recchi and Favell, 2009; Díez Medrano, 2011), while numerous studies on gentrification and suburbanisation in the Anglo-Saxon world (particularly in the UK, USA and Australia) have traditionally identified socio-spatial dynamics of gentrification, exclusion or inequalities (Ley, 1996, 2010; Smith, 1996). Individuals are, to some extent, able to choose or negotiate their belonging to political or social spaces, as well as their degree of investment and interaction. Mobility and individualisation reinforce the possibility of choice (Savage *et al.*, 2005).

The choice of neighbourhood of residence is one of the issues examined in the interviews with the managers included in this research. This is only one piece of evidence,

but the reasons put forward by the managers of our sample provide fine-grained evidence of strategies to develop interactions or to avoid other social and ethnic groups. Nevertheless, these are not straightforward gated communities' strategies. Managers' residential strategies and choices of neighbourhood are relatively varied. Prices and logics of distinction (in the sense of Bourdieu) are always there. However, in our cities from the south-west of Europe, residential choices are still strongly influenced by family networks. Once the choice is made, managers develop different strategies to control their environment, and to carefully select their combination of distance and proximity regarding other social groups. A significant component of their social status is related to their residential choices and trajectories, and their strategies in this respect allow individuals to negotiate their involvement, degree of investment and social interactions in the area in which they choose to live.

Managers (an important fraction of upper-middle classes) are distancing themselves from lower social strata, but this does not necessarily need to involve complete physical segregation from those groups. They seek to distance themselves in certain domains, but less so in others. These strategies of distance and proximity in relation to other social groups imply that upper-middle classes remain strongly embedded in the territory of their neighbourhoods and cities through their interaction with dense social networks, their selective use of public services, their frequentation of certain public spaces despite their clear separation from other social groups.

Control is everything here: a clear case of power relations. The more our managers live in a residential suburb or an exclusive city-centre neighbourhood, the more relaxed they seem to be about encountering people from other social and ethnic groups in the supermarket, public transportation system, swimming pool, school or park. By contrast, the more they reside in a mixed neighbourhood, the more precise they become in trying to control the conditions under which social mixing may take place. Their use of public services in those contexts where they feel in control of the agendas of the institutions providing them (i.e. schools), and/or their choice of exit (private schools within the neighbourhood or directly outside it) when they fear the potential consequences of interacting with lower classes, reveals the capacity and the will of these groups to articulate the combinations that allow them to feel comfortably in control of the degree of social mixing to which they are exposed.

Combining Distance and Proximity: Interactions under Control

Influenced by the analysis of the experiences of segregation and secession of the wealthiest groups in the USA (urban sprawl, strong segmentation by ethnicity and/or wealth, 'gated communities'), research about European upper-middle residential classes strategies has identified territorial concentration of these groups in certain areas and segregation from the rest of society. Evidence of managers leaving city centres and settling in new suburban developments composed of individual detached and semi-detached houses has been collected across Europe. These groups are supposed to choose lower-density areas, with a more socially and aesthetically homogeneous urban fabric, insulated from other social groups, where they could be and feel 'among equals'. Running in parallel, a different literature, largely disconnected from the previous debate, stresses the trend towards the territorial concentration of the wealthiest groups in society, emphasising in this case the potential 're-conquest' of city centres

by wealthier groups through the emergence and consolidation of gentrification processes. Triggered through different combinations of state (urban renewal policies) and market interventions (private initiatives aimed at cashing in on the centrality and/or historical value of degraded urban areas), gentrification tends to result in the expulsion of less affluent groups from those areas. In some recent uses of this concept (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Butler, 2005; Lees *et al.*, 2008), gentrification is defined as a field of research aimed at linking the dynamic interactions between the transnational and globalised flows on the one hand, and more locally bounded social dynamics on the other.

Within the suburbanisation and gentrification literatures alike, upper-middle classes are identified as 'segregators', social actors aiming to distance themselves from lower segments of society, looking for the benefits of the cultural and relational capital accumulation that could be derived (for themselves but mostly for their children) from living among 'peers' of a similar (or even preferably superior) socio-economic position and status. However, in his analysis of social change in East London, Hamnett (2003a, b) points out that gentrification is more about replacing a dying-out working class, and much less about displacing it. Even with no displacement, the processes of urban transformation are nevertheless dependent on the residential mobility of the 'gentrifiers'. Residential mobility constitutes the main process through which change in local social profiles is produced in the contemporary metropolis. In addition, Maloutas (2004) emphasises how residential mobility is not the only process leading to urban change. 'Gentrification studies', for instance, usually ignore the social mobility of long-term residents and their impact on processes of socio-spatial differentiation. Social mobility does not need to lead to residential out-mobility, since the socially mobile who remain in their neighbourhoods constitute an important element to be considered in the analysis of segregation trends. Social scientists do not pay enough attention to these long-term residents because of the existing bias in favour of the analysis of mobility. As a response to this bias, and based on his study of the case of Athens, Maloutas developed the concept of 'endogenous social mobility' (or 'spatially entrapped social mobility'), to refer to intra-neighbourhood mobility (moving within the same mixed area to maintain family and social links, and often in social order to move from renting to home ownership), as well as to strategies of relative avoidance.

Current debates on gentrification have already internalised the idea that today's cities are socially mixed, which does not necessarily mean cohesive, but in fact more like cohabitating spaces with often limited interaction between different groups who live relatively separated lives (Davidson, 2010). Classic research on the spatial proximity of social groups has rather identified strategies of social differentiation and distance (Chamboredon and Lemaire, 1970; DeFilippis and Fraser, 2008). In Latin American cities, Caprón and González Arellano (2006, p. 67) also identify strategies of distinction and distance between different social classes. They refer to the concepts of 'micro-segregation' (coexistence of very polarised groups in very small spaces, with very high levels of segregation), and 'micro-fragmentation' (difficult coexistence and mutual obliviousness of very different social groups living together in a very small space). Blokland (2003, p. 10), in her comparative research about two neighbourhoods (in the US and in the Netherlands), also shows that location does not of itself produce community, and at most 'communities make use of the location to varying degrees'. Urban residents make choices in their experience of residence through their differential approach to the dimensions of privacy (in a spectrum ranging from anonymity

to intimacy) and access to services (from public to private provision). It is particularly these spectrums that have changed over time and over which people now exert far more choice than in the past. She argues that it is on the basis of these dimensions that urban residents define the boundaries of 'their' community. Butler (2007, p. 173) uses the metaphor of the 'social tectonic' functioning of the city according to which different social classes cohabit in the same neighbourhoods and pass each other by with little or no interaction.

In contrast, if proximity does not necessarily mean cohesion, segregation does not need to mean isolation either. Maloutas (2004) criticises the 'spatial reductionism' of the Chicago school, and a good part of urban sociology thereafter, which equals social mobility (through residential mobility of the upwardly mobile) with urban segregation. Segregation is seen as the result of the departure of specific social groups, and/or as a consequence of the residential mobility of incoming residents with a different profile to the long-term residents of an area. For instance, moving to a gated community (the most 'insulated' form of separation from other social groups) does not necessarily mean that the upper-middle classes are increasing their level of segregation either, since the fact that they used to live in closer proximity to lower classes did not mean that they were sharing much with them to start with (Álvarez-Rivadulla, 2007). Building upon the conclusions of several studies on racism and the spatial interaction of ethnic groups in US cities, this author emphasises the need to look beyond the presence or absence of interaction between social groups, to focus on the 'quality' and 'nature' of the existing interactions.

Following Chamboredon and Lemaire's (1970) pioneering work, we argue that managers tend to develop a plural and complex game of distance and proximity in relation to other social groups in order to select, control and choose the nature, intensity and dynamics of their interactions. Social and urban secession remains an exception, and this chapter shows how managers develop strategies of anchoring in their local and urban environments. Individuals can choose to protect themselves from one dimension of urban life and not from another, creating a complex mix of choices that has to be analysed at different *scales*: local/urban, national, European and/or transnational/global. They can, for example, 'exit' from national public-health systems but engage (voice) in the local *place*, whether it be the city or the neighbourhood. By contrast, other groups occupying lower positions on the social scale (immigrants aside) have more limited resources to escape their city or neighbourhood. Education, mobility, travel, occupational networks, and various social bonds give managers the chance to control their interaction with the environment.

These developments have taken different forms and intensities in different countries. The level of segregation shows diverse patterns, and a complex interplay between different social and political factors (from family networks, to social housing policy) contributes to mediate and to change the nature of those processes in different societies (Maloutas, 2004, 2010; Butler, 2005; Musterd *et al.*, 2010). Going beyond the debates on gentrification or urban secession of certain social groups, this chapter sheds light more on the interactions, practices, networks and representations of their neighbourhood and metropolitan regions of contemporary urban upper-middle classes in Europe, including forms of network urbanism to use the phrase of Blokland and Savage (2008). It also tries to disentangle the different components of the behaviour of the members of these social groups, including their use of public services, frequentation of local spaces and residential strategies. Inter-group social dynamics in urban

space are generally more complex than extreme mutual avoidance (constrained only by property prices, urban policies or the physical layout of the city), or the colonisation of neighbourhoods.

Choosing a City or a Metropolitan Region: Inheritance, Family Ties and Professional Opportunities

People make choices about where to live, and how to relate to the areas where they reside, to a far greater extent today than in the past. Residents' investment in their neighbourhood is also a matter of individual choice. The concept of 'elective belonging', coined by Savage *et al.* (2005), is useful to explain how contemporary middle classes choose the neighbourhoods where they reside, illustrating how these groups seek out places where they can cluster together with people 'like themselves', emphasising the importance of place in bourgeois identity: 'Location in residential place ... is a fundamental claim on identity, a marker of social position, and a necessarily territorial and relational indicator of who you are not, as well as who you are' (Savage *et al.*, 2005, p. 2). With this concept, these authors spatialise Bourdieu's theory of 'field' and 'habitus' by arguing that 'people are comfortable when there is a correspondence between 'habitus' and field, but otherwise people feel ill at ease and seek to move—socially and spatially—so that their discomfort is relieved' (p. 9). Quoting Savage *et al.* (2005, p. 4):

... elective belonging is not a free act of the individual consumer, engaged in some kind of rational cost–benefit analysis, but the choice to live somewhere where one feels comfortable, so aligning oneself with 'people like us.' It is a means of consciously choosing and investing in what is actually socially destined for us.

How do managers implement their strategies of distance and proximity in relation to other social groups? How do they justify their residential choices in terms of their trajectories, as well as their involvement in the social affairs of their neighbourhoods and cities of residence? This implies analysing their rationales for choosing the neighbourhood in which they live, as well as their degree of involvement within the territory. Their practices of using public services (particularly schools, but also leisure, welfare programmes, public space, etc.), going out, participation and involvement in society and politics within the locality operate as indicators of the degree and intensity of their attachment to the territory.

The choice of a city or an area is rarely analysed in urban research. The overall result points towards the importance of labour-market opportunities. However, a more detailed analysis of the residential career of our interviewees highlights the importance of two factors beyond the labour market: inheritance and family networks.

Residential mobility with deep roots

Social scientists are now rightly stressing circulations and mobilities. But major differences exist within the general trend towards increasing mobility that can be appreciated at the global level. The world is not yet as fluid as some may think. The managers interviewed for this research appear clearly divided on this issue: while about half the

Table 2.1 Respondents born in the same metropolitan area (%)

<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>
Outside metropolitan area	62	59	38	45
Same metropolitan area	38	41	62	55

Table 2.2 Respondents according to the length of residence in the neighbourhood (%)

	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Total</i>
Less than 5 years	23	30	25	13	23
Between 5 and 10 years	48	38	29	37	36
Between 10 and 20 years	25	22	19	37	25
Always	5	10	27	14	15

respondents come from the metropolitan area where they live, the other half came in at some point in their lives mostly for education and professional reasons, but also for family considerations (often linked to their spouse's territorial roots; see Table 2.1).

Paris has the highest share of interviewees coming from other cities in France, operating as an 'escalator urban region' (a metaphor Savage and his colleagues used for London and the south-east of England) owing to its status as a capital and economic driver in the national economy. Managers in Paris-Ile de France earn on average about a third more than the rest of the interviewees in other cities. Almost a third of the managers who are born and have always lived in the same metropolitan area have never changed neighbourhood. Madrid appears as the city with the highest number of natives and immobile managers, followed by Milan and, to a lesser extent, by the French cities, which appear more locally and nationally mobile (Table 2.2).

Our informants in Milan and Madrid show a considerably more stable residential trajectory, with substantially higher percentages responding that they have always lived, or lived for at least 10 years, in the same neighbourhood. Similarly, the percentages of those who have lived in their areas for less than 5 years are also much lower in Milan and Madrid when compared with the French cities in this study. In general terms, this gives an image of lower residential mobility in the Italian and Spanish cities, something that coincides with the general profile of those societies as less geographically mobile.¹

A closer look provides a more nuanced picture. The narratives of informants show that even if managers have lived abroad for a while (therefore changing city and neighbourhood), often they do not consider this experience when accounting for their local residential pattern, and they declare that they have always lived in that neighbourhood. It is as if the period abroad was a parenthesis in their life, and the reference point was the local and national context. This account of a 33-year-old manager from Milan makes this clear. He tells us he has always lived in the same neighbourhood but 'I lived one year and a half in Paris when I was studying, then I stayed one year in Antwerp'.

A 44-year-old female manager working as a high-ranking civil servant in the Spanish Ministry of Finance makes reference to this differentiation between the fact of living abroad or in another city for a certain period that is considered to be temporary (even

if sometimes the duration of that period is uncertain) and the idea that one 'continues to live' in one's own city:

I have lived in Madrid since I was seven, and during certain periods of time I have lived outside this city, I spent two years in Cáceres, one year in Boston, two years in Guatemala and one more year in Tarragona, I have been moving for educational and professional reasons, but my place of reference has always been here. I have never dismantled my house. I had my 'home' here, and always thought that my place to return to was Madrid.

Another manager born in Madrid, 58 years of age and also working in the public sector, stresses that he has always lived in Madrid, despite the fact that for 7 years he was working in Salamanca (some 210 km northwest of Madrid) and commuted every week there for the working week, keeping his 'home' in Madrid throughout that period. Finally, an engineer from Madrid, 36 years old, married and with a small child, working for a shipbuilding company, states that he has always lived in Madrid, only to clarify a few minutes later: 'For professional reasons I was 'temporarily' sent to Cadiz for what originally was supposed to be a couple of years, but I ended up living there for nearly six and a half years'. It is clear that for our informants, the 'parenthesis' of time living outside their city for educational or professional reasons is not perceived as something that broke their intimate connection to their city of origin.

There are a small number of cases of managers born in the same area where they are living at the time of the interview, but who had experienced national mobility (going to live in another city in the same country and then returning). The only exception to this pattern is the case of Lyon, where several managers have moved around France (in particular to Paris) and then returned to Lyon. These results contrast greatly with the English studies (Savage *et al.*, 2005; Larsen *et al.*, 2006), where internal mobility proved to be considerably higher.

Choosing a city: family first, inherited belonging?

In the four cities (but most strongly in Milan and Madrid) family ties continue to play a major role in choosing one area of residence over another, especially in deciding whether to live near parents or in-laws. Managers have sufficient economic resources to freely choose their place of residence. Yet, they seemed compelled to settle in an area not necessarily of their own choosing. The possibility of living elsewhere does not even occur to many of them. Obviously, this is not systematically the case, and different patterns exist for those managers who moved to their cities of residence for educational or professional reasons, as these people tend to be more mobile, shifting between urban spaces, taking several factors into account when selecting a neighbourhood (proximity to university or workplace), especially once they discovered the city's facilities, price and prestige of their preferred location.

The case of Lyon appears to be particularly interesting in this respect. One group of managers were born and raised in this city (themselves or their partners), or in the region to which it belongs. A typical case is the director of an insurance service, 48 years of age and from Isère (close to Grenoble), whose wife is from Lyon where they met. They have three children, and live in the opulent western suburb of Lyon. This regional dimension of household building and residential strategy in the case of Lyon is rather common in France, where mobility is often local, regional and then national.²

Lyon constitutes a dynamic labour market in the middle of the second most powerful economic region in France (Rhône-Alpes), hence its key role in the region. When asked about their choice of cities, an overwhelming majority of managers in our sample answered that the choice of city was primarily related to the existence of labour-market opportunities, with a clear 'local' and/or 'regional' nature. Thus, many managers living in Lyon have origins in the region (from St Etienne and the industrial valleys, more rural areas in the Ardèche, to small towns like Annecy or even the Alps). Labour-market opportunities in Lyon without previous experience there, inheritance or family ties are rarely instrumental in the decision to settle in this city. Several '*Grandes écoles*' are located in Lyon, including a handful of prestigious management and engineering ones. As in the case of Paris, some students enter those '*Grandes écoles*' because of their results in a national examination, and some make friends, marry and stay in Lyon.

A second group of managers, near the lower end of our sample in terms of income, have forged their careers in smaller cities in the region (or elsewhere), and their arrival in Lyon is clearly perceived by them as a promotion, or at least as an important career step. At the regional level, Lyon is also a sort of 'escalator' city for managers.

Leaving aside the minority of managers who never left Lyon's urban area (about 15% of the sample), most of the managers have been mobile within the national boundaries. Many have spent some time in Paris (as students or working), while others have moved several times to Paris, or to other French regional capitals. A couple in their forties, living in the affluent western part of Lyon (both engineers and originally from the suburbs), had worked and lived in Tours, in the Paris region and in Valence, finally settling down in Lyon with their two young children. A similar logic applies to those with international experience. A 39-year-old woman from Lyon (currently working in human resources), moved to Dreux in Normandy for her husband's work (from Chambéry, in the Alps). She then followed her husband to London for four more years before coming back to Lyon. In contrast to the other members of the sample, those with international experience are more critical of Lyon's international standing: as she put it, 'The international influence of Lyon is zero. The international dimension is far away'.

Among the youngest group of managers with some roots in Lyon or in the region, there is an indication that some might consider residential mobility. Interestingly, none of them mention a clear wish to leave France, and most of them would like to live 'in the south'. Even in Lyon (already in the south-east of France), the attraction of the south is very strong, although they worry about the kind of job they might get if they were to move there. Managers who are born and bred in Lyon also articulate a classic critical discourse against Paris. In one extreme case revealing anti-Parisian sentiment, in answer to the question about trips to foreign cities, a woman from Lyon (with a management degree, a PhD in chemistry and a husband from Lyon) mentioned ... Paris!

The 'outsiders', who have come to Lyon and intend to stay (either men or women), tend to live in Dardilly, the rich, Catholic and family-oriented western suburb. They did not know the city before but have found what they consider to be a 'perfect place' to raise three or four children. Those outsiders praise the location of Lyon, its proximity to the mountains and the great countryside, but also the close proximity of Geneva and Italy. An operational director of a group of consultants states that: 'In Lyon we often go to Italy to work but more often for tourism, and Geneva too'. What is striking, however, is that those managers who are not originally from Lyon yet intend to stay there are nearly always rooted to Lyon through their partner's family ties. Being in Lyon is a

good way to combine living in an urban area with remaining close to their local roots. In most of those cases, however, these managers do not intend to stay in Lyon forever. They are hoping to move as part of the development of their career. Alternatively, some do hope to move to another region where they (or their spouse) have family ties and roots. For example, this young, upwardly mobile manager, working as an auditor, a middle-ranking manager, has previously lived in Angers, Perpignan, Saumur and Pau. Now, in his early thirties, he is looking forward to moving to western France because of his family origins.

The choice of Lyon is explained mostly by the combination of professional opportunities, and either inheritance and/or local or regional family ties. Some have always been in the region, and some have moved around France for their career (including some time in the Paris region), although they decide to come back to be closer to their family. This is slightly different from the classic pattern of national mobility in France where one used to move from a small village to a town or to the regional capital, and then possibly to Paris. Outsiders who come to Lyon and settle there with a partner who is not from Lyon are very rare.

More surprisingly, the role of the family, or, to be more accurate, family and friends, in the choice of a neighbourhood also plays a significant role in the case of managers in Paris. This finding comes as a relative surprise, since, in contrast to Lyon, a good deal of the population has moved to Paris without family roots there. But again, family networks and inheritance reappear in the interviews. One good example is a household at the higher end of the sample living in Le Vésinet. Both parties are strongly upwardly mobile, as he comes from a modest background in the centre of France and now works as a banker. One set of reasons to choose this 'ideal', small, affluent commune on the western side of Paris is very clear: its amenities, social composition, nature and the suburban train (it takes 15 min to go to work in the business district of La Défense). However, his spouse, a secretary, born and raised in several socially mixed communes, still has family living in those neighbouring suburbs. For them, the choice of Le Vésinet combines the element of social status and proximity to family. Le Vésinet is indeed very close to other mixed and suburban communes such as Sartrouville, with large social-housing estates. This couple chose a commune in order to be close to the wife's mother, and that played an important role when raising their children. She has kept many friends in those other communes that they regularly visit. For this couple, choosing a 'good' neighbourhood means a combination of the social and physical environment, on the one hand, with the closeness to family and friends, on the other.

Both in the suburban neighbourhoods of Le Vésinet and Fontenay-sous-Bois and in Paris, about a third of our managers chose these neighbourhoods because they, or their spouse, used to live there (or nearby), hence the relative importance of the density of their networks of family and friends. This is not always obvious, as there is rarely a strict linear residential story, but lineaments of families and friends are found in the same part of the Parisian region, or the same corner of Paris itself. In terms of residential trajectory, this is particularly striking for those managers living in homogeneous middle-class/upper-middle-class neighbourhoods, with the exception of recent residents, most of whom used to live not far away. In Le Vésinet, most managers interviewed used to live in another commune in the affluent western suburbs of Paris but very close (within 10 or even 5 km). If they had to move, they would usually mention another commune in the same part of the Parisian region such as St Germain en Laye, or other small communes very similar to Le Vésinet.

The managers living in the more peripheral and homogenous neighbourhoods are those more likely to declare that they took into consideration the interests and needs of their partner in selecting their neighbourhood of residence. This may be related to the planned nature of this decision (the explicit rationale behind this option that can be the representation of a consensus-building process conducive to settling in such areas). Surprisingly, the case of Madrid seems to show the exact opposite tendency, with the decision to live in more central and socially mixed areas being more often the result of a consideration of both the interviewee and their partner's interests.

Milan is somehow similar to Lyon in some respects, although it plays a larger role as a regional and national 'escalator' city, where many managers land from the nearby region: Milan is a key destination for its higher-education institutions (five universities) and its relatively dynamic labour market (compared with the rest of Italy). It has a higher proportion of managers born in the city than the French cities included in the research. For those managers, their choice of city is not an issue: Milan is *their* city, and they had no choice but to live there, even though many of them complain about the decreasing quality of life (mainly owing to traffic and transportation problems) and the decline of its international dimension. The example provided by some of the managers of our sample is overwhelming and conveys their complicated feelings towards their city. This manager, 50 years of age and married with one child, declares: 'I have absolutely not chosen to live in Milan, and I do not think I would decide that way. I live in Milan because I was born here, my parents live here, my family has been living in Milan since the eighteenth century, that's why I am a "Milanese citizen"'. If he could, he would leave Milan, but at the same time, he is aware that his children and his wife prefer to stay in Milan because there are more facilities and schools, and the atmosphere is more lively than in other Italian cities. He closes the interview by stating: 'I would never move from Milan; I can stay away for some periods, I think I can say it without doubt'. Another manager, 52 years of age, born in Milan and married with one child, despite reporting that the city is becoming too chaotic, puts it like this: 'I would never change Milan for another city, there are many advantages in terms of job opportunities and cultural things to do', but immediately afterwards, he claims that he does not have any time to take advantage of any of those cultural opportunities, so he could live anywhere else in the world. A female lawyer for a communication company, in her forties and single, sums up the argument:

I live here because I was born in Milan, I have my network of friends, my family, and you have all the advantages of the large cities, without the disadvantage of the large ones, that is isolation, I feel rather part of the city.

A marketing director, 42 years of age and married with two children, mobilises the classical discourses opposing Milan to other large Italian cities:

it is clear that from the work opportunities point of view, Milan is the Italian capital. You have a European lifestyle that you don't find in the other cities, either in Rome or Turin; they are absolutely parochial. If you go abroad and you confront foreign people, you (as a Milanese citizen) do not have many problems; paradoxically, you have more problems confronting someone living in Cremona, or even in Rome; this is the crucial thing about living in Milan.

For these managers, moving to another Italian city is not really an option (even though the myth of escaping to the countryside, or to a little village, still has some appeal). When they talk about moving, it is because they need a larger home, and they are generally thinking about another apartment in the same area (or even street) where they currently live. Maintaining proximity to their family networks is the most important factor behind this decision. The centrality and pervasiveness of the family is a very well-known feature of Italian society, and many scholars have stressed the crucial and ambivalent role of the family for understanding a wide range of social phenomena in the Italian context: from the transition to adulthood, to the reproduction of inequalities and social mobility (Schizzerotto and Lucchini, 2004; Bernardi and Nazio, 2005), residential patterns and care arrangements (Saraceno, 1991; Naldini, 2003), local development and modernisation patterns (Bagnasco, 1977; Trigilia, 2002) or the development of the welfare state (Ferrera, 1996). Our empirical findings coincide with the general conclusion of those academic debates, for they emphasise the role of the family in explaining the residential 'immobility' and the social reproduction of inequalities in Milan. Family ties allow our managers to stay in the city centre (in certain neighbourhoods, in particular), thus reflecting how the role of the family is particularly important in determining the residential trajectories of the middle classes (many of the Milanese managers of our sample have inherited a family apartment, received it as a gift or were financially helped by their families to purchase it), while the working classes may have to move further away to the periphery due to their lack of financial resources for staying close to their families of origin.

Living in the city is never seriously questioned by our Milanese managers. This goes hand in hand with the high home ownership rate in Milan and its suburbs compared to the other cities: 86% of respondents in Milan own their flat/house, while the percentage decreases to 69% in Paris, with Lyon and Madrid somewhere in between. This strong attachment to the city does not mean that respondents are not aware of the difficulties that come with it. A female manager in a communications company, 48 years of age, married with one child and politically active, reports that the quality of life in Milan is worse than in other medium- to small-sized Italian towns, but considers it to be higher than in larger European cities such as Brussels. She says: 'Milan is fantastic, also because in one hour you go everywhere, mountains, lake, seaside. I say that the quality of life is low because the economic and political situation is devastating, but we are still better than other European cities'. The desire to leave Milan during the weekends and holidays is present for many of our respondents, who like to escape from Milan when they can, further evidence of our respondents' ambivalent feelings towards the city.³

Things are different for managers born outside the city. A first group includes managers living in the smaller towns near Milan (Pavia, Cremona, Mantova, Brescia). They studied in Milan (often without moving), started out in their careers outside Milan and then were offered a better job in Milan, where they settled down. In these cases, there is often a mix of love and business in the choice of the city, and they establish an 'elective belonging' to Milan. Nevertheless, they also leave Milan during the holidays or in (the near or distant) future after retirement. They have strong connections to their place of origin and often have their secondary residence there.

A second group comes from other Italian regions, typically the south, but also Liguria or Valle d'Aosta. They are more nationally and internationally mobile, moving to different cities before arriving in Milan. A 43-year-old manager, divorced and with a new partner, was born in Naples (where he studied) and then moved to Rome where

he worked for several years, before having an experience of working abroad (South America). He was then offered a job in Milan, where he finally moved thanks to his former spouse's connection. Another manager from the Valle d'Aosta, aged 37, went to Turin to study, then worked in a small town in Piedmont and then arrived in Milan to work for a larger company. Finally, another example is that of a manager born in Rome who passed through Ivrea (a small town where the Olivetti firm was based) for the Information and Communication Technology, then moved to South Africa, then Australia and finally to Milan. To them, Milan represents the large city where jobs and/or education are, where one can enjoy many leisure pursuits (even though often they do not have the time to benefit from this offer). The choice is reinforced by the presence of a partner (who most of the time was born in Milan) they met in the city, something that strongly conditions the definitive settlement. These findings hold true for the managers living in both the city centre and the suburbs. In the latter case, managers not born in the area appreciate the proximity to everything the large city can offer and at the same time enjoy green areas and less traffic, which they greatly appreciate for their children.

What is most striking when reading this empirical material is the expression the majority of respondents use to explain why they are living in Milan: it is not a choice; there is no degree of freedom. The absence of choice appears again in the discourses of Milanese managers in relation to the issue of the selection of the neighbourhood of residence. In this respect, Milanese managers cannot really be described by the concept of 'elective belonging' used by Savage and his colleagues for the Manchester middle classes. Our Milanese managers clearly belong to 'the city', because they are born and bred in that place, and they feel part of it. Yet this belonging is not really 'elected' but rather 'inherited', and this heritage is channelled by the family of origin.

Spaniards' reluctance to move to other cities or regions within Spain (despite a very long history of both international and internal migration, or quite probably precisely because of it) can be explained by the weakness of the economic incentives to do so (the wage differentials and other potential incentives involved in that move do not compensate for the hassle and costs associated with leaving one's own city), the very high home-ownership rates (which have increased substantially since the 1960s, to reach over 85% of households today) and, last but not least, the very high density of networks of family and friends considered by Spaniards to be central to their material and emotional well-being.

As we can see from the previous tables, the Madrilenian managers in our sample are most likely to have been born within the metropolitan region of this city. They also have the highest probability of having always lived in the same neighbourhood. This, of course, does not mean that there is no mobility. Madrid is the state capital (with strong political, educational and economic draws), and it clearly functions as a magnet for people from all over the country (and abroad) to come and settle there. It is, in fact, a city that has been built through different waves of internal migration from different regions of Spain up to the 1970s, and with the arrival of international migrants since the mid 1980s. It is thus not easy to find people in Madrid who can trace their roots in this city further back than two generations. This makes Madrilenian identity a very flexible concept that imposes relatively little pressure on its inhabitants to adapt to a specific pattern of behaviour, norms or expectations. A female manager, working for the Spanish Ministry of Finance, summarises this

combination of factors that makes Madrid the best place for her to live very clearly; this is how she feels about the city:

There is a strong professional drive [for her to live in Madrid]: I work for the central government, and it is located in Madrid, so this is an essential aspect. The city offers many of the things that interest me, it is at the centre of the country, so it is at about the same distance from any place in Spain, and it is very well connected internationally. But I do not feel I am from Madrid (or from the place where I was born, for that matter). It is not an identity issue, but a question of 'functionality.'

A 58-year-old public-sector manager, married, with two small children and living in the neighbourhood of Ibiza, emphasises the 'centrality' aspect of Madrid as well (both political and geographical) to explain the interest of living in this city: 'you are closer to where many decisions are adopted, and that is a great advantage ... and it remains a very welcoming city despite this'. Obviously, the factor of links to the political and bureaucratic power of the state strongly affects those managers in the public sector. A 63-year-old manager in the Ministry of Labour points out that: 'For a civil servant of the public sector linked to the central government, Madrid offers many more possibilities for professional advancement, functional mobility and hierarchical progress. There are many more possibilities of connections with other public organisations'.

But the strong rootedness of the managers of our sample is associated with social factors that anchor people to a certain area (family ties, interactions with friends, daily practices and social routines, etc.). A clear example of the rootedness aspect in the trajectory of these managers is the case of a couple who were interviewed separately, both managers living in Mirasierra (he, a 37-year-old electronics engineer; she, a 35-year-old who works as a director in a communications company; they have a 2-year-old and are expecting a new baby). They met as teenagers in the scout movement of the Mirasierra neighbourhood where they lived when they were children (she mentions that her brother and sister also married partners they met when they were scouts). Their studies and early professional steps took them to the US for six and a half years. When asked about the main advantage of living in Madrid (compared with being in other places such as California or Seattle, where they lived before), she says: 'the main advantage, and nearly the only one, is that my family is here'. Another factor is that the market for jobs for her partner in Spain is basically in Madrid, and she stresses the 'inertia' factor that applies when you are planning on returning to Spain from abroad, which leads you to settle in the city where you come from. When asked about why they decided to return from the US, she says:

We came back because we were very well adapted to living in the US, we had bought a house, we both had stable jobs, our cars, the daily routine, everything was very American, and people were surprised that we wanted to leave. But we had started to think about having children, and the American education system did not satisfy us, the family was not close by, and we wanted our children to grow up with their family. We also like Spanish values better.

He also elaborates on the reasons why he did not want to raise his children in the US:

I really liked the US, especially for work. But to have children, it is a society that is a little 'too wild.' ... they expose children to an ultra-competitive atmosphere. ... At your workplace they bring out the best in you, because it is a meritocracy where you reach the level

that your capacities allow you to ... in Spain meritocracy is not exactly the name of the game ... We came back because in Spain there is a combination of work, social life and family that we consider to be perfect.

He makes a similar statement regarding the role of the family and place of origin when deciding which city to settle in:

For us, the main advantage is that the family is nearby. After living abroad for six years, you ask yourself the question: where would you consider the best place in the world to live? By then you are already 'de-rooted,' and you can choose to go anywhere, but we decided to come back to Madrid because our families are here, the grandparents, and all of that. In the end, people want to go back to the place where they were when they were 16 or 17, the places where people think that that is their city. The same happens when people retire and often go back to their own city. You can see that very well in the US, a society of completely 'de-rooted' people because they move four or five times when they are children, and when they are adults they keep moving, they do not see much of their parents, and they get rid of their children when they turn 18 sending them to university ... and you ask yourself the question about your roots, and you realise how important they are.

When they came back from the US, where they lived in a very suburban low-density environment, they rented an apartment in an upscale neighbourhood in the centre of Madrid: 'we were fed up with that type of environment, so we decided to come to the most central place we could think of in Madrid. We had never lived in the centre, and we really wanted that experience'. After a few years of living in the centre, and once they already had children (she says that were it not for the children, they would stay in the centre), they moved to suburban Mirasierra, full circle back to where they came from, and where their families still live.

Another manager, 36 years of age, married and with two children, living in Mirasierra after spending a few years in the centre of Madrid, and some time in a province in the north, emphasises the advantages of Madrid as a big city over other smaller places: 'Madrid has much more life, much more anonymity, much more things to do, but personally I value anonymity a lot, and then there is the family and friends who are also around'. He also emphasises the idea of the importance of one's 'roots' when deciding where to settle: 'I think that at the end we go where we grew up. ... because we may feel more comfortable, we have our family, it is what we know, what we like, our friends live in the surrounding area ...'

Despite the emergence of a powerful drive towards a relocation of business activities and suburban housing developments for upper-middle classes in the north and north-west parts of Madrid, the city centre (particularly certain areas) continues to be an attractive residential location for high-income groups.

In Paris, the question of the choice of the city is comparable with that of Madrid, with more mobility. Paris is of course the capital, the escalator urban region, with many people coming in and out. Managers in our sample, as in other cities, are mainly divided into three groups, those who come from Paris and the Ile de France region and have stayed there, those who come from Paris, travelled around and return (just a few), and those coming from the rest of France who stay in Paris. Our survey rather confirms classic findings: (1) the importance of inheritance for staying in Paris and (2) the role of education and the labour market in attracting outsiders. Typically, the managers we interviewed, when their origins were not Paris, came from all sorts of localities in

Table 2.3 Ownership of secondary residences (%)

<i>Secondary residence</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Total</i>
Yes	29.8	23.5	65.0	42.6	41.8
No	70.2	76.5	35.0	57.4	58.2

France, in order to study in Paris often at a rather prestigious higher-education institution and then stayed in Paris or in the suburbs. This is also reflected in the composition of the households where many couples come from all sorts of places.

There is one last element about housing strategies that helps to understand the level of rootedness of these managers in their local and national context: secondary residence ownership (Table 2.3). The media often refer to the large number of (wealthy) people buying a second home abroad (possibly in a sunny destination) as an investment, as a place to spend holidays and/or to retire to. There are limited systematic data available about secondary residences abroad in the European context, although we know that Italy, France and Spain are among the most desired areas for these purposes (particularly the coast and some interior destinations). Our findings show that having a secondary home is not the general rule. The Madrilenian respondents are by far the largest group with a second residence, followed by the Milanese, while the two French cities lag a considerable way behind. In almost all cases, the second homes are located in the same country, while only a few people have a second home abroad. This element is further evidence supporting the finding that our managers are not particularly interested in disinvesting from or exiting their country of origin.

The Madrilenian managers of our sample are, by far, the most likely to have a secondary residence. This is in part due to the fact that many of them own the family houses of their relatives (parents and even grandparents) who migrated to Madrid from different regions (Castilla, Galicia, Asturias, Andalucía or Extremadura) at the time of the great expansion of this city (mostly in the 1950s and 1960s, but in some cases even earlier). The family house in the 'village' remains a strong reference point for these people, linking them to those regions to which they trace their family origins. The rest of the secondary residences generally correspond to those houses acquired by our managers for leisure and holiday purposes, and can be divided into two large groups: the houses in the 'Sierra' of Madrid (the mountains some 60 km north of the city that they generally use at weekends, and also in the summer) and those on the Mediterranean coast (often an apartment) located mostly in the regions of Valencia (particularly in Alicante) or Murcia, but also in Andalucía (Málaga or Cadiz). In some cases, the managers have access to two kinds of secondary residence often one in the mountains and one on the coast. Finally, a relatively small but symbolically important destination for our managers is 'the north', referring to the coast of Santander, the Basque Country (San Sebastián) or even Biarritz (in the French Basque Country, some 30 km from the border), traditional holiday destinations for the Spanish aristocracy and high bourgeoisie since the late nineteenth century, and which our managers continue to consider as a desirable location for a secondary house.

In the Milanese case, half of the respondents who have a second home have inherited it from their family, and the other half bought it years ago. What is interesting is that we have mainly three localities where these second homes are located: on the coast in the Liguria Region, which is located 90 min by car from Milan, in the mountains

(mainly in the Valle d'Aosta Region in the north-western Alps, again 90 min by car from Milan) or on a lake (mainly Lago di Como or Lago Maggiore, in the Lombardy Region). In these places, our interviewees often meet the same friends they see in the city, or relatives if the secondary residence is a family home.

In the two French cities of Lyon and Paris, ownership of a secondary home is less common (less than 30%). On the one hand, some of those houses are related to family or origins. In Lyon or Paris, managers have kept strong ties with their region of origin and have kept or bought a house there. On the other hand, their second home is closely related to leisure, in the mountains (in Lyon), at the seaside or in a desirable part of the countryside. Ideally, managers try to combine the best of both worlds, to have a house in a 'nice' place, within their regions of origins, in order to be close to their family, but perhaps not too close.

Choosing a 'Good' Neighbourhood Close to Family and Friends

The choice of neighbourhood of residence is a classic urban sociology question. The list of factors that may influence the process of selecting an area in which to live is potentially very long. The combination of those elements may vary as much as the specific preferences, characteristics and living circumstances. To add further complexity to this decision-making process, each national society, metropolitan region and city introduces specific codes and parameters to the equation that establish what is considered to be an 'adequate' and 'desirable' living environment for a person of a middle- or upper-middle-class status. The depiction of the process by which upper-middle-class managers choose the neighbourhood in which they reside is therefore extremely difficult to ascertain; more so when considering four cities in three different countries and a total of 16 different neighbourhoods.

In terms of methods, robust evidence is difficult to find. For example, in their study on the choice of place of residence by the European 'creative class' (another contested concept that we do not use), Martin-Brelot *et al.* (2009) elaborate a classification of the elements taken into consideration in their decision-making process, including 'personal trajectory factors' (proximity to family members and/or friends, being born in the area, having studied there), 'hard factors' (proximity to work, transportation, etc.), and 'soft factors' (housing affordability and availability, security for children, leisure and entertainment, cultural and social diversity, built environment, etc.). Allowing for considerable room for inter-city variation, these authors emphasise the predominant role of 'personal trajectory factors' among a European 'creative class' that is not very mobile. While 'hard factors' ranked second among the reasons stated by their informants for choosing their place of residence (albeit decreasing with duration of residence), 'soft factors' did not emerge initially as very important, although they seemed to gain salience as people lived longer in a certain area. According to these authors, 'hard factors' operate more as a reason for mobility (the reason for settling in a certain area), whereas 'soft factors' become relevant as reasons for staying in a certain location.

The comparison of our informants' arguments and narratives about their reasons for establishing themselves in their areas of residence brings to light a series of dynamics, and certain elements can be highlighted as central components of the process of selecting a neighbourhood. Results are presented first in aggregated terms and then completed by some qualitative elements derived from interviews (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Factors considered by managers when choosing an area of residence (%)

		<i>Characteristics of the area</i>		<i>Price</i>		<i>Partner</i>	
		<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
Paris	Average	79	13	47	43	52	10
	Central	77	17	44	48	46	12
	Peripheral	85	0	61	23	77	0
	Mixed	74	17	59	29	45	2
	Homogeneous	89	5	21	74	68	26
Lyon	Average	63	24	26	63	61	21
	Central	69	25	21	74	58	15
	Peripheral	56	23	31	53	64	27
	Mixed	58	25	40	45	49	25
	Homogeneous	68	23	13	81	73	18
Milan	Average	56	43	18	80	59	19
	Central	58	40	17	80	47	18
	Peripheral	55	45	20	79	70	20
	Mixed	48	50	15	83	56	20
	Homogeneous	61	37	21	77	61	18
Madrid	Average	84	9	27	66	48	35
	Central	83	8	27	67	50	33
	Peripheral	85	10	28	65	47	37
	Mixed	77	12	30	58	63	20
	Homogeneous	92	7	25	73	33	50
Total	Average	69	23	28	65	55	23
	Central	72	22	27	68	50	20
	Peripheral	66	24	29	62	61	26
	Mixed	64	25	35	54	54	18
	Homogeneous	75	21	20	77	60	28

The analysis of the logic underlying the residential strategies of our informants reveals that, in relative contrast to the conclusions of the study of Martin-Brelot *et al.*, managers do not seem to express very clear hierarchies between 'hard' and 'soft' factors when choosing their area of residence.

In aggregated terms, the basic characteristics of the neighbourhoods played a more important role than price in the decision to reside in a given area. Thus, more than two-thirds of informants claimed that the characteristics of the neighbourhood (with shifting combinations of aspects mentioned in the different neighbourhoods) played a significant role in their decision to establish their residence there. Central and more peripheral areas did not seem to differ much regarding the importance attributed to the characteristics of the neighbourhood in the selection process: those opting for a more peripheral area emphasised their preference for a quieter environment with easier access to open spaces, and those living in more central neighbourhoods praised the benefits of density and proximity to city life with a similar emphasis. Those characteristics did seem to be significantly more relevant when considering the social composition of the neighbourhoods: as expected, the perceived characteristics of more socially homogeneous areas appear to be a very important factor in the selection of those areas in all four cities.

The 'place images' that people have in their minds in relation to the different areas of the city have been constructed through a combination of stereotyping and labelling (Watt, 2009). In understanding the strategies of our upper-middle-class managers, those 'place images' constitute a central element in their narratives about why they moved to, settled in and/or remained in their area of residence (as well as about which other areas of the city they would consider living in, and why they would never live in certain neighbourhoods). However, disentangling the combination of 'objective' and 'symbolic' components of those 'place images' is not a straightforward task.

People build an image of a specific area of a city by combining their perception of a series of physical traits ranging from the urban structure of the neighbourhood (spatial layout, type of dwellings) to the availability of public services (schools, transportation links, sport facilities), the existence of commercial and leisure activities, as well as the proximity to gardens and green areas. But the perception of those 'objective' indicators of the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood is mediated by a set of socially built expectations about the standards that should be attained by someone of their specific social status. To that combination of physical characteristics, perceived through a socially constructed lens, we need to add the role played by the 'social narratives' about each specific neighbourhood. These narratives attribute characteristics or a 'personality' to each area, based on factors related to their historical formation and evolution (urban typology, residential area for specific social strata, etc.), as well as to the functions that those areas are supposed to perform in relation to the rest of the city and the metropolitan region (commercial activities, tertiarised area for professionals and corporations to establish their premises, residence for artists and intellectuals, leisure areas where young people gather, etc.).

A key component of those narratives about each area is the perception about the 'kind of people' who reside there. Our informants have a very clear image of their relative position among the inhabitants of their neighbourhoods, expressing their opinions about their adjustment to the social norm of the area in terms of income, wealth, education level, ideological orientation, social status and age. Their degree of accordance to that social norm contributes to their account of the stability of their residential strategy. As Van Ham and Feijten (2008) point out, the decision to change residence is to a large extent a function of a person's dissatisfaction with the current housing situation, often related to changes in the composition of the household (as families grow in size, they are more likely to consider moving), but also to the extent to which their own characteristics match those of the neighbourhood population, notably in terms of ethnicity and social position.

Mixed neighbourhood: no romantic choices

Price obviously constitutes an important element in the definition of the residential strategy of managers, particularly for those living in Paris, but also in Milan. Price is central for those choosing more heterogeneous neighbourhoods or a more peripheral area over a more central one (where prices per square meter can be substantially higher). It is therefore particularly interesting to analyse managers who have chosen a socially mixed neighbourhood.

The literature has emphasised the role of managers and other middle classes living in those kinds of neighbourhoods as agents of gentrification or, to use the terms of the conservative American journalist, David Brooks, as 'bobos'. Middle classes are

supposed to enjoy the company of other social and ethnic groups at the risk of displacing them. But the managers of our sample do not fit this pattern. In the four cities, the majority of managers living in mixed areas cope with that situation, but in many cases, they would like to live in more exclusive areas, more consistent with their social status. There is no romanticism in our survey; even those who cope very well with life in a socially mixed neighbourhood would often happily move out to a 'better' place.

Mixed and central neighbourhoods

In Madrid, Milan, Lyon and Paris, the choice of a mixed central district follows similar lines of justification. A 33-year-old female manager in a textile firm from Lyon's seventh arrondissement (mixed) put it this way: 'the neighbourhood is close to everything, with new infrastructures, a real neighbourhood life; it's close to the centre with good transport and schools nearby'. She identifies two problems in this choice, though: parking and the limited range of shops. In both Lyon and Paris, most of the respondents who live in mixed areas in the city centres would rather live in a better neighbourhood, but it seems that as long as they live in the centre, they do not mind that much. In other words, our interviewees consider that living in a mixed neighbourhood is rarely good news but is acceptable as long as one either lives in the city centre or has deep roots there. In the mixed area of the 10th arrondissement of Paris (close to Gare du Nord), many managers stay there for family reasons, even if they could afford to live in a more upmarket or trendier area. Their choice is explained either by direct inheritance of a family flat or by the choice to stay in the same neighbourhood where one was raised, close to ageing parents, with a brother or sister in the vicinity, perfect knowledge of the area and their children going to the same school. A female marketing manager working in an agro-business firm, married with two children, spent her childhood on the border between the 10th and ninth arrondissements. She has lived in several flats within a 10-min walk of that area, and she and her husband bought a flat there. This allowed them to have a considerably bigger flat than in other areas, since the prices there are lower than in other parts of Paris. Children ended up going to the same school she had attended in her childhood. Another couple stayed in the 10th arrondissement where the man's father, a southern European immigrant, had a small business. The parents live very close by, and the brother and his wife live in the same building.

Beyond this classic configuration, we found another trace of family links. As mentioned before, many managers arrived in Paris to study or to get a job but were born and raised elsewhere in France. Classically, in the making of Paris, regional origins have played a considerable role in the area of settlement. In centralised France, the railway system built after the 1880s, and the formation of the newly established Third Republic, was organised with all the main lines leaving from Paris. The different communities of internal migrants settled in Paris in the proximity of the train station that connected them to their region of origin. A well-known case is that of the Bretons landing in Montparnasse after 1945. Traces of this pattern of settlement are still visible. One good example is a relatively young manager (33 years old), director of a small group of seven bank branches in Paris. He used to live in Rennes (Brittany), came to Paris to study, then spent some time in London, and now lives and works in Paris. He chose the 15th arrondissement, west of the centre, because it is a Breton's choice: close to Montparnasse station in order to go back to Brittany at weekends. Nevertheless, this may not last for ever: the longer the period spent in Paris, the less clear the 'regional choice' continues to be.

In Milan, the choice of the socially mixed city-centre neighbourhood (Lorenteggio) follows similar lines of justification with differences between two groups: (1) those born in Milan or managers with a partner born in Milan; (2) and the remainder originating from outside the city. A single female manager in a medical firm says: 'it is near everything, I have the supermarket, and then, I am used to calculating, and this area is central but a bit less expensive; you have to distinguish between dreams and reality'. Traffic, parking and pollution appear in all interviews in the city of Milan, making them very similar to those in Lyon. Even more pronounced than in the case of Paris, family networks play a major role in shaping the residential strategies of our interviewees in socially mixed neighbourhoods. All the managers born in Milan reported the presence of at least one family member (family of origin or in-laws) in the same neighbourhood and/or the inheritance of a flat from the family. In several cases of couples with children living more or less equidistantly from both parents and in-laws within the neighbourhood, this was the main selection criterion for choosing the apartment. As this manager puts it: 'it was a compromise, the flat was half way from my parents-in-law, and from where my parents live, this flat was nice, and we bought it'. Another manager, a married man with a young child, explained that his mother lived 300 m away, and she bought that apartment for them so they had to live in that flat! He puts it like this: 'you know, it is easier for my mother to come and look after the child; at least one of the grannies is close. I would not change this area; I would not go somewhere else because I want to stay in an area I am familiar with'. The interesting thing is that although the in-laws are not so far from them, roughly 2 km, this is already considered too far. A familiar atmosphere or 'comfort zone' (Blokland and Nast, *in press*) is about social networks in the area combined with knowledge of the facilities and services.

Being born in the area makes our respondents aware of what they can use and what is better to avoid. Most of these interviewees report feeling at ease in the neighbourhood and do not plan to move. However, when asked about where they would like to live, almost all of them tend to declare that they would like to move to the upmarket city centre but that the prices are, for many of them, too high to actually consider such an option. Managers adapt to the area because of their roots there, but they would easily move to the 'very city centre' if they could, despite their families. One manager, who grew up in Lorenteggio and then moved to the city centre, puts it like this:

You cannot say I live in Milan; you have to say where you live. I had lived in Lorenteggio for 10 years; it was OK, but if I think living all my life there, no, it is not possible. Here in the city centre, 'the music is different; it is another life.'

For the Milanese, living in the very city centre (close to the Parco Sempione or the Parco di Porta Venezia, the two green areas) still represents the preferred upward residential mobility pattern.

For those who were not born in Milan and decided to settle in the socially mixed central area (Lorenteggio), the proximity to work, the price and being close to the main routes and highways plays a key role in explaining their choice of residence. A 47-year-old single, female, manager explains:

When I first came to Milan, I was looking to rent a flat. I was offered many terrible studios at a very high price; it was clear I could not afford anything in the city centre. I had to stay in a more peripheral area. This is a good compromise; it is not the final part of Via Lorenteggio, where it becomes more a 'dormitory'; it is OK.

Yet, one point makes Milan slightly different from the other cities: perceptions of neighbourhoods are less contrasted, as Milan is less segregated than the other cities. Leaving aside the very city centre (old Spanish walls), and several specific areas with strong reputations and perceptions (both in positive and negative terms, such as Isola, Quarto Oggiaro, Ponte Lambro and Baggio), the perception of the neighbourhood is rather faded, and all areas are considered more or less equivalent. Some respondents living in the socially mixed neighbourhood within the city could not mention its physical (and social) borders, talking instead about a more general area in the south-west second ring of the city. This manager, a man of 42 and married with two children, reports that he does not feel the neighbourhood atmosphere at all; nor can he identify its borders: 'contrary to what happens in Rome, in Milan there is not a real neighbourhood life, I do not live the neighbourhood'. Nevertheless, he reports having positive feelings towards the 'area', which, he states, 'has all the facilities a family needs, and it is near the main routes to get out of Milan'. Another manager, working for a property agency, aged 53 and married with two children, makes a similar point: 'I am not able to identify the neighbourhood, I do not see its borders, probably because I go around Milan; I go out of the neighbourhood'.

Milanese managers living in those areas explain that a mixed neighbourhood is not ideal, but living in the centre compensates for this. These managers are not prisoners of their neighbourhood; they feel at ease in the whole city and are expert players at being close to different social and ethnic groups in some moments or places of their life, and at distancing themselves in other instances.

The mixed central neighbourhood of Madrid included in our research (Ibiza) is built on the grid style designed for middle-class neighbourhoods when the city expanded in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. It is structured by its western boundary limits with the Retiro park (Madrid's biggest and most monumental urban park). Despite being a relatively mixed neighbourhood (a large range of social groups live there, from service-sector workers, a significant number of them of immigrant origin, from Latin America and Eastern Europe, to upper-middle classes), it remains a solidly bourgeois area in character.

After family connections prompt the decision to settle in this type of area, the qualities of the place may produce a personal attachment to it, and a gradual appreciation of its characteristics may end up producing a considerable degree of affinity with it. A manager finds Ibiza to be noisy and quite polluted, but:

it is a real '*barrio*,' very residential, not just with offices, and very central, not so much in relation to the city, but to my interests, it has sophisticated shops, but also traditional commerce. It has a very popular character, and there are families from the whole socio-economic spectrum, there are a lot of immigrants, and this whole mix is very appealing to me. I would not like to live in an 'elitist' neighbourhood, or in a neighbourhood in which I would feel out of place because there would be nothing or no affinities to me. I would only move from this area if I was to go to live abroad.

Mixed and suburban neighbourhoods

The particular characteristics of this type of neighbourhood may not suit the expectations of some, who may cherish the idea of moving to a more upscale neighbourhood or to the suburbs. But they clearly resonate with an important share of the managers who live there. As a married, 56-year-old, female manager in the public sector who had

been living for more than 20 years in Ibiza puts it: 'if I have to go to live in Pozuelo (a suburban upscale area in the northwest of Madrid) I would die!'. With her strong statement, she is rejecting not so much (or not only) the idea of living in a semi-detached house in the suburbs, but actually the entire way of life that that kind of urban pattern implies (dependence on the car, shopping malls, low population density, lack of street life, social isolation, etc.), while emphasising the fact that her neighbourhood is actually the complete opposite to those potentially anomic living conditions. Similarly, a 63-year-old manager in the public sector says:

I think this neighbourhood constitutes a much more liveable type of city, with its terraces on the street in the summer to sit down and have a drink.... I would have never moved to a semi-detached house in a residential development of the northwest of Madrid. I do not like to depend on the car, to live terribly isolated behind the four walls of your house, that type of life is not for me.'

A 58-year-old manager in the public sector, married with two small children also living in Ibiza, points to what he considers the advantages of his (central and socially mixed) neighbourhood over the suburban lifestyle:

... outside of the centre you are supposed to have more 'quality of life' but I think that with the traffic problems you are trapped. If your activity and family are in the city centre, living outside generates more difficulties to maintain your social relations.

For a 32-year-old engineer working as a manager in a construction firm, 'a very high quality of life' is precisely what he has in Ibiza:

It is extremely well connected by public transport, there is not too much traffic, the Retiro park is nearby, you have a little bit of everything. It is not a neighbourhood where there are only offices, dwellings or shops. It is a balanced neighbourhood. I prefer to live in this area even if that implies losing square meters. I would not go to other areas where I could live in double the space.... The new areas they are building in the new developments of Madrid are very inhuman, just piles of dwellings, regardless of the quality of the buildings. It is a concept of neighbourhood that I do not like.

For another engineer, aged 55 and married with two children in their twenties, who moved to Madrid 10 years ago, living in the area of Ibiza allows him to have a very similar life to what he had in Zaragoza (a relatively quiet city of about half a million inhabitants) where he used to live before moving to this neighbourhood, without any need for a car (even if he does own one), with all the services he wants and in very close proximity to the Retiro park. The park is clearly one of the most attractive features of this neighbourhood. It appears in most of the interviews, and for a large number of our informants it constitutes a key factor in their decision to move to and/or to stay in the area.

The dimension of choice in the selection of the neighbourhood is more clearly present for the respondents living in the suburban socially mixed areas, even though, in these cases, housing prices may be a more important factor, while family also plays a crucial role and seems, to some extent, to prevent mobility.

In Villeurbanne, the commune near Lyon with a strong working-class legacy, we found a group of managers who have always lived there or in a similar kind of suburb. They were upwardly mobile but did not move. In the interviews, they appeared

to be well aware of the fact that they form the upper end of the social structure of Villeurbanne, and they are relatively proud of it, as it is congruent with their left-leaning political values. This manager was born and raised in Villeurbanne, as was her husband. She has a master's degree in law and politics, and works in the human-resources sector. Why did they choose to live in Villeurbanne? 'It's my childhood, I did not make a choice, we bought the family house'. She also emphasised the fact that her friends live nearby.

The (popular) social origins are a good predictor for this group. For instance, a 54-year-old chief executive of an SME, born in Algeria of French ancestors, came to Lyon for work-related reasons and stayed there for his career. He is upwardly mobile and feels better in Villeurbanne than in other upper-class areas (although he could afford them). In contrast to those who choose to live in mixed areas in Lyon, the choice of a mixed suburban neighbourhood or communes is put forward as a choice and is often related to inheritance, networks and values. Also, some managers make the best of it, since Villeurbanne is close to Lyon: 'at least we get the most of a city without the problem of the price as in Lyon', says a young manager from a small financial firm, born in Lyon.

But even in Villeurbanne, many managers, while emphasising that Villeurbanne is no different from Lyon, would like to move to more affluent neighbourhoods in the centre of Lyon. A director of a commercial centre born in Lyon, just like his spouse, makes the point: 'Lyon and Villeurbanne, that's the same thing within the ring road', but later in the interview he explains his dream is to live in the eighth arrondissement, or other central bourgeois areas of Lyon. They have better aspirations. They express their uneasiness with a phrase that regularly surfaces in the interviews: 'The neighbourhood is getting worse.' That is to say, their neighbourhood is becoming more mixed. A marketing manager in a firm selling chemicals, who has always lived in Villeurbanne (his wife too), says: 'No, I do not like the neighbourhood anymore, too much concrete, too much noise, too much heat, too much proximity' (from social and ethnic groups they now want to avoid).

In quite a systematic way, criticisms of the environment reveal some unease with the social and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. Another manager, a 56-year-old lawyer working in a large utility firm who came back to Lyon after several years in Paris, says, 'the city is becoming noisy and very polluted', and he adds, 'I would have been happy to live in Le Vieux Lyon, or La Croix Rousse', but he could not afford it. Some of the managers in Villeurbanne, as in other suburban mixed neighbourhoods from Paris, Madrid or Milan, cannot afford to move with their family to a very bourgeois place. Although, as managers, they have good salaries, they strongly resent their financial limits. In the case of Villeurbanne, some managers claim that the place is 'too urban.' A woman in charge of innovative projects for an industrial SME explains that, although her husband is from Villeurbanne, and their neighbourhood is made up of the 'right kind of people', 'we want to change; we would like a smaller village', which in the local language indicates a strong wish to relocate to the affluent western suburb of Lyon.

The same goes for Paris, where a manager who recently moved to a mixed suburban neighbourhood is the most likely to be resentful of his residential location. In the Parisian mixed suburb of Fontenay-sous-Bois, the results require a more finely grained analysis to explain the diversity of answers. This commune on the eastern side of Paris is divided into many contrasted neighbourhoods. At the risk of simplification, one might say that Fontenay is mainly divided into three areas for the managers we

interviewed. One group lives in the old quasi-provincial city centre around the church. They have many children, strong family ties and Catholic networks, and are very much rooted in Fontenay. A different group of managers tends to live closer to the Réseau Express Régional (RER; suburban train) station. Many of them come from Paris and went to Fontenay to live in a nice house with their family while working in Paris. They tend to remain in their local neighbourhood rather than live in Fontenay and spend a lot of time in Paris where most of their friends still reside. A classic case of 'elective belonging', their satisfaction with Fontenay is matched by the fact that many of them are unlikely to stay there for very long.

By contrast, some managers live in very mixed neighbourhoods in other parts of town, and they strongly resent it. From their part of town (closer to the second RER station), they have direct views over the large social housing estates located in the neighbouring communes, they realise how near they live (2–3 km away) from those estates, and they would like to leave. The first group emphasises the 'small town' atmosphere and dense networks of friends and families of Fontenay. The second group did not really choose to live in Fontenay as such. They speak about the Paris region, the transport system, the access to the centre of Paris. This second group typically includes families with young children who have traded an average-sized flat in Paris for a large flat or a house in Fontenay-sous-Bois. A director of a small consultancy firm, a woman with two young children, puts it like this:

We were looking around, we found a nice flat in Fontenay and for us access in terms of transport is central for our residential choice. I don't know Fontenay-sous-Bois very well but we thought we'd be better off with a large house in Fontenay rather than a small flat in the 16th arrondissement of Paris. It's calm, close to the Vincennes wood with an excellent school, good sport infrastructures, we don't need to have a country house, and the house price is the same as a flat in Paris.

The case of Vimercate (suburban mixed area in Milan) reproduces, and even reinforces, the patterns already described for the central mixed neighbourhood in Milan. For those born outside Milan, Vimercate represents a good compromise between proximity to work and price. Vimercate is very close to the headquarters of some important multinationals (like STMicroelectronics, Alcatel, Mediaset) and part of the High Tech Milanese district, so it is a rather strong pole of job attraction. Most of the managers not born in the area find it very convenient for its proximity to their workplace, besides the presence of all kinds of services (schools, sports activities, etc.). However, also in those cases, social networks play a role in shaping the place of residence, suggesting the best places to search for. As a 43-year-old manager, married with three children born in a small city in the centre of Italy, puts it:

I had some colleagues, and they suggested this area, they suggested something near everything, and it was a bit like our town of origin, so we decided to settle here. Now, we would like to change for a larger apartment, and we are looking in the same area.

For the managers born in Vimercate, there is no good reason to change. Vimercate is quiet, and there are the '*affetti e legami*'; besides that, 'it offers good-quality services, a nice historical centre, it has a very nice familial dimension, it is very good for children, at the same time it is near Milan if we go to the theatre or the cinema'. A 43-year-old bank director, married, with a child of 5, puts it like this: 'Milanese people during the

week-ends escape from Milan; we (residents in Vimercate) do not. When I am at home during my days off, I am happy, I enjoy staying here.’ He is also perfectly aware that Vimercate does not offer that much to young people, reporting that after 7 p.m., ‘it is a dead city, even during the summer time. There are some events, but people living here are very unlikely to go out in the evening; they are closed. Vimercate is lacking in social life, mostly for young people’.

The urban and suburban mixed areas in Milan are somehow similar in that they both offer all kinds of services needed and are convenient from many different viewpoints (job, facilities, family), but while, in the urban area, there is a considerable amount of traffic and few green areas, the suburban area is more family-friendly. It is not merely by chance that in Vimercate we found more traditional families (married couples with two or more children) than among the respondents in the city.

The mixed peripheral neighbourhood in Madrid included in this research is Mirasierra. Its combination of urbanisation typologies, reflecting the different phases of construction (detached houses for high-income families, upscale gated community apartment blocks, middle-class blocks and finally the small informal settlement of marginal people at the boundary of the neighbourhood already dismantled at the time of writing this book), implies that the social mixing of this area is actually very territorially compartmentalised, strongly conditioning the composition and social dynamics of the neighbourhood. The relative isolation of the area contributes to its image of tranquility and exclusivity, and the weak public-transport links make residents reliant on the use of private cars. Owing to the exclusive character of most of the neighbourhood, property prices are high, with significant internal variation reflecting the characteristics of the different areas. The general feeling of the area is of relative exclusivity, as this 32-year-old female manager puts it:

I like living in Mirasierra very much. I like how quiet it is, the fact that it is very family oriented, there is lots of space and green, and I like the people who live there. I like the atmosphere that you breathe on the streets.

For the couple of managers who came back from the US to end up settling in the neighbourhood of their childhood, going back to Mirasierra was a decision strongly related to going back to their ‘roots’ and to being closer to the family. As he puts it:

with small children Mirasierra is the best place to be ... even if it is an area of detached houses, it is not like La Moraleja, Puerta de Hierro, or Pozuelo [other upscale peripheral low-density areas in Madrid, where the upper classes live], which are like ‘golden cages’ where there is no one on the street, and people are very socially isolated. Mirasierra has some street life, more everyday, because there are also apartment blocks, there is a cinema, there is social life, there is a little bit of everything. The only inconvenience I see in Mirasierra is that we know the neighbourhood too well because it is where we grew up, and that overwhelms me a little bit. I have been all over the world, and I have to come back to live right next to my parents’ house! But I really think it is the best place to be.

A 36-year-old manager, working as a financial director for an international food company and married with a small child, who moved back to Mirasierra while waiting for his second child, describes his lifestyle in this peripheral semi-suburban area by pointing out: ‘the truth is that we live in some kind of bubble, the school is nearby, the garden is in the building’. He values these things when comparing them with his life

in the city centre before they moved back to Mirasierra. This is a reflection on one of the types of dwellings that constitute this neighbourhood in addition to the detached houses, gated apartment blocks with parking, private gardens, swimming pool, paddling pool and sometimes even a kindergarten for the children of the block.

Mirasierra is considered to be a very boring area for teenagers, since traditionally there have been few activities and places where they could go and hang out together in the neighbourhood. Before the arrival of the metro (around 2010), the public transportation links with the centre of Madrid were also very poor (just a couple of bus routes that did not run very frequently). Many of the informants who were raised in the neighbourhood seem to have established very strong links with other people of their cohort from the area, and several couples were formed among our managers, particularly in the scout group of the neighbourhood. Another couple in the same situation was that of a biologist in his mid thirties married to a consultant for a large IT multinational corporation, who had three small children. When discussing the reasons that brought them back to Mirasierra after living in several other parts of Madrid, he said:

... when we had our third child, we needed more space, so we came here to an apartment complex where they have their own closed garden where the children can play. ... For me, the main factors (to come back to Mirasierra) were proximity to the school, and familiarity with the neighbourhood. In fact, I do not particularly like the area ... there are too many *'nouveaux riches.'*

To summarise, three main profiles of managers can be identified in Mirasierra: those who moved when the neighbourhood was built (depending on the different times of building of the different areas of the neighbourhood); the youngest groups who settled there because they (or their partners) grew up in Mirasierra and came back after a period of living abroad or in other cities or Madrid neighbourhoods (often linked to the moment of having children, and in relation to arguments of proximity to family and friends, schools and familiarity with the area); and finally the newcomers, managers working in the vicinity who find it convenient and not as stressful as the centre, and where they appreciate the proximity to other people of the same socio-economic status.

No-go areas

City-centre residents usually might move to a limited number of potential alternative areas—the same neighbourhoods are systematically mentioned in every city—often in the city centre. These areas are valued because they are perceived as being characterised by the 'right' mix of factors appreciated by contemporary urban upper-middle classes including their centrality, offer of leisure and commercial activities, and above all their public image as areas with the right social composition. Among our managers living in the city centres, there is also a relatively small fraction (often some of the youngest managers in the early stages of their process of family formation) who may eventually consider (or already have plans to) moving to more peripheral areas. In those cases, the search for larger dwellings, always within certain relatively homogeneous well-off areas considered to have the adequate social composition, guides the selection process. Here again, the neighbourhoods mentioned as potential areas for relocation match the conditions of having a social image adjusted to the profile of our informants. The managers settled in more peripheral areas have even more stable residential prospects, maybe with the exception of some older informants who, after

their offspring have abandoned the family household (empty nest syndrome) and having raised their children in a residential area at the outskirts of the city, may cherish the idea of returning to the city to enjoy the advantages of centrality while living in a smaller apartment better adjusted to their current needs.

Neighbourhood choice is also defined in negative terms: there are 'no-go' areas where upper-middle-class managers would not consider settling. Managers have strong opinions about where they would never live. In general terms, the latest include working-class areas in the periphery and neighbourhoods in the city centre inhabited by the popular classes. In the case of Madrid, this was phrased by our informants as 'the South' and 'the periphery', referring to the working-class areas at the outskirts of the city (by contrast with the northern and north-western peripheral areas of Madrid inhabited by more well-to-do social groups), as well as 'the centre' referring to the more traditional and popular neighbourhoods of the historical city centre (Lavapies, Sol and Malasaña are explicitly mentioned quite systematically) where most of Madrid's night life is located and where the percentage of immigrants among the total population is often considerably higher than in the rest of the city.

In Parisian suburbs, the definition of 'no-go areas' is not so precise, maybe because it is so obvious and unthinkable. Managers do not need to make explicit that they are unlikely to live in the poorest area of the region (i.e. Seine St Denis, on the immediate northern side of Paris with its legacy of industrialisation, large recent immigration and poverty), nobody would even consider it, and there is no need to mention it. Within Paris city centre, by contrast, there are numerous justifications in the interviews to identify the no-go areas. Most of the time, respondents do not consider leaving the centre of Paris, except for young couples ready to move to the suburbs to gain more space and a garden. Within the limits of Paris city council, the central area, the managers are very clear on where they may or may not go. In the mixed neighbourhood of the 10th arrondissement of Paris (around Gare du Nord), no-go areas mostly refer to two different places. On the one hand, they do not want to move to a relatively poor or very mixed neighbourhood such as the north-east (the 19th arrondissement is the more socially mixed with large social-housing properties, a poorer population and a lack of good schools—with some exceptions around the parks) or the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods 5 min north of their area (Barbès and La Goutte d'Or). On the other hand, they do not want to move to some of the most affluent neighbourhoods of Paris (such as the 16th arrondissement, historically the symbol of Paris' old bourgeoisie in the west of the city). They repeatedly use strong words to mock the ageing, dying, boring bourgeois district, the lack of amenities for children and the lack of trendy bars and restaurants. In social terms, these managers, most of them upwardly mobile, stress the differences between a caricature of old traditional French bourgeoisie and upcoming, open, dynamic managers like themselves. They therefore value districts within Paris combining some elements of social and ethnic diversity (but less than in the 10th), together with lively cultural equipments, trendy places to go out and, of course, good schools.

A similar logic applies to those living in central neighbourhoods in Lyon. There, managers make it very clear that the south-eastern suburbs are the no-go areas (as mentioned, communes with large immigration, a working-class history with large social housing complexes, well known for their riots, and the location of polluting industrial firms). The theme is well known, so it suffices to quote an export director of an SME who came to Lyon as a business-school student and married a fellow student

from Lyon; hence he stayed in Lyon. He sums up this aesthetic judgement in a few words: 'the south-east of Lyon—it's ugly to death.' In more objective terms, a 46-year-old female manager from the north of France, working for a software company, is very explicit: 'I did not want the south of Lyon. It smells bad because of the oil refineries and pollution.' The hierarchy of neighbourhood is very clear in the mind of our interviewees, but that may be explained by the fact that most of them are related to Lyon in one way or another through family ties. The western affluent suburb is clearly the neighbourhood of choice, against the industrial/immigration suburbs to the east, south-east and north, the mixed areas in the centre and the prestigious central location. Another option is to go further away to enjoy a quasi-rural life in a small village.

In Milan, the no-go areas are quite clearly demarcated as well: the traditional immigrant and working-class neighbourhoods located on the extreme periphery, where criminal activities are perceived to be concentrated (Quarto Oggiaro, Baggio, Giambellino, la Comasina), but also the third ring of the municipality. That area is considered to be too far away from everything and is labelled termed 'the periphery', a negative stamp. The centre-periphery dichotomy is still quite strong in the city of Milan, even though different areas, apart from the very city centre (Spanish walls), are considered 'desirable areas to live.' Staying in the west part of the Municipality, which our respondents consider more often in their answers because of the proximity to where they have grown up (Lorenteggio), they mention 'the residential area next to Fair, Corso Vercelli and Piazza Piemonte' where there is a mixture of old (often French style) and new buildings.

The areas where the potentially dangerous 'social other' lives are generally labelled as 'noisy', 'dirty' and/or 'insecure', classic words used by the managers in every city. Those perceptions of safety and security used are directly connected to their own images about their position in the social scale, as well as to the social narratives about the characteristics of the different areas of the city, specifically about the social composition of the population of each neighbourhood. In addition to the 'self-seeking' motivations of the middle classes analysed by Savage and Butler, based on feelings of comfort and belonging, the study of the feelings of distaste of these groups towards other social classes highlights how middle-class representations of the working class are loaded with negative moral and aesthetic judgements (Skeggs, 2004). The rejection of the working classes is translated into spatial boundaries that separate the 'pure' and 'safe' middle-class areas, from the 'polluted' and 'insecure' ones where the lower classes are present (Watt, 2009). The strategies of avoidance of those threatening social groups goes beyond not considering settling in the neighbourhoods where they are supposed to reside and imply that our upper-middle-class managers very rarely visit those areas.

Upper-middle-class neighbourhoods: the place to be

Our informants prefer to reside in neighbourhoods that, to a large extent, consist of people who are like themselves, environments where they feel more secure. But they are simultaneously very outspoken about their desire to live in a neighbourhood that has a certain feeling of community, to share a public space with others who appreciate the 'neighbourhood'/'*quartier*'/'*barrio*' atmosphere, a feeling considered somehow lost in the modern city. They like the independence and anonymity provided by the big city, while trying to retain the 'warmth' and 'cosiness' of a local environment, such as the good neighbours who Tissot (2011) identified in Boston where a feeling of loose

community shared by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood enhances the perception of belonging. These perceptions are among the most important elements in the definition of a strategy of distance–proximity in relation to other social groups deployed by our upper-middle-class managers in their neighbourhoods of residence.

The choice of upper-middle-class neighbourhoods is justified in terms of physical space and a conception of the social composition of those areas (positively valuing the educational level, social class and/or status of the inhabitants of those neighbourhoods). We have a wealth of data to support this very classic finding. Some examples will suffice. Le Vésinet, the affluent suburb west of Paris, is described as ‘a little paradise’ by many interviewees who reside there:

This is such a calm neighbourhood, hyper calm, green, residential, close to Paris ... we cycle a lot ... parents are very concerned by the education of children. Some women do not work and the parents are strongly mobilised in terms of time in their children’s school careers. [interview of a couple in Le Vésinet, he is a director in a accounting firm, she is in the art business]

An interviewee emphasises another classic theme, i.e. security:

we feel totally safe. People come back from work in the evening very late without any problem; there are regular police patrols. In Sartrouville (another commune, more mixed on the west side of Paris), I would never have left my daughter to go out like this; it was dangerous.

Le Vésinet is generally presented as this protected paradise defined in terms of its exceptional green environment, good schools, total safety, good transport and the right kind of upper-middle classes (if not upper class at times). The ‘distinction’ element, in the sense of Bourdieu, is also very strong in the interviews when some managers emphasise the ‘good taste’ of the houses, the aesthetic value of the landscape, the beautiful houses with large gardens for the upper end of the commune and the networks of friends interested in art. The protection of this ‘unique landscape’ also leads to strong mobilisation against projects aimed at building some new housing or some sports facilities likely to attract the dangerous young people from neighbouring communes. In no ambiguous terms, this managing director of an auditing firm mentions the need to protect Le Vésinet from ‘the Sartrouville pox’.⁴

On the price side, some managers with limited resources are living in the most expensive neighbourhoods. In Le Vésinet, the wealthy green suburban commune on the west side of Paris beyond La Défense district, there were managers from the public or the private sector with income in line with our criteria (not the top 5%). House-price increases have made it increasingly exclusive, and the search for managers fitting our criteria proved uneasy, as they are becoming a minority surrounded by seriously rich families. There are three reasons for this. First, those managers (or their spouses) have inherited a house or a flat, and they stay in Le Vésinet while the salary of chief officer of a local authority or manager in an NGO would not suffice to buy a house, or even rent a flat in that area. A second group chose this area, and they were able to afford it because they live without children in a rather small flat. A third group are renting a place, having just arrived in the Paris region, they do not know much about the city, and Le Vésinet is seen as a safe place close to work (and they may move away soon).

The functional equivalent of Le Vésinet in Lyon is Dardilly (in the affluent western suburbs). Managers there make all sorts of distinctions between Dardilly and the rest of Lyon, with a particular distaste for the city centre. The idealisation of village life is a classic finding that was overwhelming. A 41-year-old manager in a toy company (originally from the south of France and married to a woman from another commune in the west of Lyon) put it thus: 'It's still a real village, with local shops, traditional architecture, calm, and a rich associative life'. A marketing director, aged 30, who inherited a flat from his grandmother in Dardilly, characterises its social composition with some distance: 'a place for Catholics, nice old bourgeois, the new rich and recomposed families with lots of children'. An engineer, aged 43, born and bred in the western suburb of Lyon like his wife, and having returned to Lyon after living in other parts of France, expresses himself about Dardilly like this:

It's beautiful, OK for the children, close to the city but with dense social relations, the countryside is close to the city, but prices are high and there is a lack of social mix. There are many people like me, managers, with lots of children, Catholic, with some money, we are all the same, it's incredible.

The enthusiasm, but also some of the downsides, are patent for this 28-year-old manager born in Nice working for a computer firm after living in a Paris suburb: 'Dardilly is magic as it is so open and welcoming. We have a great network of people with great jobs. The problem with village life though is that everybody knows everything about everybody'. Some managers are less convinced though, especially outsiders. A 36-year-old marketing director who moved from Paris chose this area as a secure place recommended by colleagues, but he is disappointed: 'it's a small commune where everyone knows each other, it's sometimes tiring to know everybody and you always have to take the car. There are lots of upper-middle-class couples with three or four children'. A 38-year-old engineer from St Etienne summarises the argument: 'the neighbourhood is old, people well settled in life'.

Words that are used to explain the choice to live in a homogeneous neighbourhood in the centre are different, of course. The word 'calm' is often used. A woman from the homogeneous central neighbourhood of Lyon, close to the Parc de la Tête d'Or, an international development director of a firm, synthesises the reasons for her choice: 'to keep the mix between a relatively quiet life and the centrality to avoid long daily commuting ... and to be close to the park'. This manager in the human-resources department of a large insurance company who recently moved to Lyon notices the characteristics of the neighbourhood:

we like it a lot here, we have a good feeling about it with shops and cafés, that's important for Parisians like us but there are many people who come from here. In the park, the 'between us' feeling is very striking.

Managers who live in central exclusive neighbourhoods are, more or less unanimously, very happy with their choices. They seem to routinely regret the lack of green space and sport infrastructure, but unsurprisingly, they profoundly enjoy their situation. Within the survey, there is only one exception to this pattern: some managers who live in the 15th arrondissement of Paris, an upper-middle-class neighbourhood with particular physical characteristics (bordering the Seine river, and opposite the more classically bourgeois 16th arrondissement). Many interviewees stress the difference

between the two neighbourhoods. Some live in the 15th because it's younger, more dynamic and up and coming, and they disregard the old 16th. By contrast, we see managers whose families come from the 16th arrondissement and who would have liked to stay there but (mostly for price reasons) had to cross the river, live nearby and feel resentful. The 15th zone comprises tall 1970s buildings (an exception within Paris), which are surrounded by small houses and four-storey buildings. Some of the interviewees have ambiguous feelings about the place, enjoying the shops and the people but not so much the physical environment: 'Urban planning has been an utter disaster along this part of the Seine river', says a 61-year-old woman, a high-school manager. This type of urban planning is criticised for a 'lack of attention among people', she claims. By contrast, other interviewees sing the praises of this urbanism, its river views and access to Paris along with its local market.

In Milan, the homogeneous suburban area is Arese, on the western part of the Metropolitan area. The residential patterns are rather different from what we have seen so far for the Milan case. The dimension of choice is much more present, and Arese is perceived as an upward residential mobility achievement. Arese developed during the 1970s and 1980s. In contrast with mixed Vimercate, it is not organised around a traditional village. A 58-year-old manager, married with two children, stresses what he sees as negative features of Arese: no old traditions and no *Renaissance promenade* to walk along. Indeed, Arese is composed of different blocks of new buildings, cottages and two-family houses, and gated blocks of detached houses with facilities inside (swimming pool, tennis courts, mini-golf and the like), each hosting 100–300 households. It is nested on a large green area called *Parco delle Groane*, and the atmosphere evokes summer-holiday villages.

All of the interviewees declared that Arese was a deliberate choice, 'soft factors' playing the major role, while not ignoring price. When the oldest managers bought their house/villa during the 1980s, prices were competitive in comparison with Milan. It was more convenient, and the mix between lower prices and the pleasant, green environment attracted many middle-class households escaping from the city. Later, prices increased. Some managers noticed that residential prices are 'perhaps a bit lower in comparison to the city centre of Milan'. But they are about 20–30% higher than nearby villages, owing to the higher quality of life thanks to the more desirable urban structure, green areas, children's parks and bicycle lanes. This manager, aged 47 and married with one child, first moved to a village in the suburbs where her husband was living, and then to Arese. She says: 'it looked like an English residence, very green, very tidy. We were looking for some place where one can raise children in safety, where there was some green'. This 'English style' is often mentioned in the narratives of the interviewees, when saying that they were looking for houses with gardens and the 'English green grass'. To the youngest managers, Arese represents the 'good place', where services as well as the standard of living are of a higher quality, compared with nearby villages. These interviewees chose a place not too far from their family of origin but at the same time of higher quality. Compared with the other neighbourhoods, in Arese the role of the family of origin seems not so strong. One of the concepts often surfacing in the narratives of these interviewees is 'safety', frequently used to mean that there are no (extra communitarian) immigrants, only quite homogeneous people 'like good ones us.' Indeed, extra communitarians are present, but they are good ones, mainly coming from the US or Israel, and not considered as different. They bring an international, rather than provincial, richness to the area.

The interviewees living in this area are satisfied with their choice, and confirm their desire to stay or look for a better house in the same place. Naturally, they lament the fact that ‘the village’ does not exist and that their area resembles more of a luxury dormitory at times. In Arese, this manager highlights the lack of interaction: ‘we are many small units, closed in our boundaries; what is lacking in Arese is some sociability’. Another manager, following the same line of reasoning, says: ‘everyone is on their own, if you do not create the opportunities to meet someone else, if you do not join some associations, you are alone. It is not like a village in that sense’. Despite the fact that Arese is formed by fenced blocks of houses or villas, where socialising should be facilitated by its homogeneous residents, the interviewees’ narratives stress more often than in the other neighbourhoods the individualisation and privatisation of the place.

In Milan, as in Paris, interviewees living in the city centre are very happy with their choices, and they feel very comfortable in their neighbourhood, though they often regret the lack of green areas. Yet, depending on which part of the city centre they are residing, they also miss small shops. One manager, working in the construction sector, married with two children and living in Via Monte Napoleone, one of the ‘Fashion quadrilateral’ streets of Milan, says:

I do not like living here very much; if you have to buy milk you have to walk for a while; you do not have that kind of shop, here. Then, if someone comes to see you, she must come by taxi, you can’t park here. We had a family flat here; that’s the reason we are here. The actual city centre is not for living in.

Other managers we interviewed are clustered in three areas: Corso Magenta, Foro Bonaparte on the one hand, Porta Venezia on the other—two very residential and traditional bourgeoisie areas—and the Brera-Garibaldi area. The narratives, in this last case, are rather different. Many mention the neighbourhood’s atmosphere which has kept elements of its popular and lively past, even if managers know that the population is now a very different one. Indeed, it can no longer be described as a ‘popular’ area (Barbagli and Pisati, 2012). The presence of night life in the area is mentioned by several interviewees. One manager, aged 42 and married with no children, says:

the area is full of pubs, bars, night clubs ... you know the kind of thing that you love when you are young, now I can’t stand them any longer. I don’t speak only of young people in their twenties, also people in their forties, people who do not live in the area, but who use it. You can see the SUVs parked everywhere, and you cannot walk on the footpath in the evening.

The co-presence of different populations—residents and neighbourhood users—in this area is evident as well as the contrast, sometimes conflict, of interests of the populations (Martinotti, 1993). As Milanese sociologist, Guido Martinotti, wrote, city users (who do not live in the city) are usually not attracted by residential areas, except when the latter fall into the category of *picturesque*. However, they influence the spatial composition of specialised areas. The Brera-Garibaldi neighbourhood reminds managers of the Parisian *Quartier latin*, with its atmosphere. For some single managers coming from outside Milan, this neighbourhood was chosen in those terms. This manager, divorced and aged 38, puts it like this: ‘I needed a flat in the city centre, in an area where I go out and see people. I have shops of all kinds. After the divorce, I wanted to pamper myself’.

Sometimes the two populations—residents and users—are in close interaction, living under the same roof: there are the ‘old’ managers complaining about the night

life and its effects, and then there are ‘the grown up children’ of the same managers (16–17-year-olds) who take advantage of the night life dimension. Finally, we found only one engineer working in the construction field, a 39-year-old male, married with one little child, who lives in a family flat in the city centre, who said he would like to move towards the periphery of the city in order to have a larger apartment and, above all, to be closer to his mother.

Keeping the Social Mix under Control Yet Fearless of the City

In contrast to the literature on social secession and gated communities, the managers we studied are not retreating from the city. They are not willing to move to gated communities, and they do not tend to go private in terms of the services they use. They spend time and resources in neighbourhoods and cities; these are not the ‘barbarians’ (with no interest in the public sphere who systematically ‘retreat’ from public services) depicted by Angell. Most managers feel at home in their neighbourhood, have a positive attitude towards public services and want an improvement of their quality of life to fit their needs. There is little evidence of systematic privatism or retreat from the public sphere. They do not mind mixing with other social and ethnic groups but on their terms, when they decide to. Social mixing is fine as long as they are in control and can avoid it when they consider it necessary.

Managers are strongly territorialised within their neighbourhoods. They manage their interactions with other social groups living in the same territory through a complex and shifting balance of distance and proximity that allows them to pursue their strategies of self-segregation, without completely seceding from the social and urban spaces they inhabit. This section provides evidence of the daily practices and strategies of ‘elective belonging’ and ‘selective avoidance’.

More apartments in the centre, more privately owned houses in the suburb, nothing new

Urban dwellers make choices about how they relate to the specific area where they live (Butler, 2007). The location and spatial layout of the neighbourhoods influence the implementation and functioning of the complex games of distance–proximity deployed by the upper-middle-class residents (Davidson, 2010). In the US, Jones-Correa (2008) shows that in the sprawl experience, residing in suburban environments has always been about keeping to a set of explicit standards that regulate the social interactions among the relatively homogeneous residents. Peripheral, relatively low-density, neighbourhoods such as Le Vésinet (Paris), Dardilly (Lyon) or Mirasierra (Madrid) constitute relatively enclosed and insulated areas (albeit located at a relatively short distance from the city centre) built in such a way that allow these groups to maintain what they may consider as an adequate equilibrium between privacy and participation in the public sphere.

Differences between city-centre inhabitants and suburban inhabitants are a classic component of urban studies, but managers in European cities do not seem to be radically different in terms of usage of the city, wherever they live.

First, differences appear in terms of type of dwellings. For instance, two-thirds of our suburban French informants in Paris and Lyon live in a house, reflecting the lower

Table 2.5 Type of dwelling and use of car to travel to work among our informants (%)

		<i>Type of housing</i>		<i>Ownership</i>		
		<i>Flat</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Home</i>	<i>Second residence</i>	<i>Car to work</i>
Paris	Central	96	0	60	27	27
	Peripheral	31	69	100	31	31
	Mixed	74	21	71	29	24
	Homogeneous	82	0	63	26	37
Lyon	Central	98	2	54	24	61
	Peripheral	34	66	90	23	81
	Mixed	81	19	66	20	73
	Homogeneous	65	50	79	26	69
Milan	Central	100	0	79	50	52
	Peripheral	70	30	93	36	82
	Mixed	83	17	91	41	61
	Homogeneous	84	14	82	43	73
Madrid	Central	98	2	70	72	45
	Peripheral	85	15	72	58	73
	Mixed	87	13	80	60	67
	Homogeneous	92	3	62	70	52
Average	Central	98	1	65	44	47
	Peripheral	60	40	86	38	75
	Mixed	82	17	77	38	58
	Homogeneous	80	21	73	44	62

density building typology of those areas. But fewer than one in six managers from the more peripheral areas of Milan and Madrid live in houses, owing to the combination of individual houses and apartment blocks characteristic of these neighbourhoods. Density and privacy aspects appear here as closely interconnected, conditioning the degree of basic social interaction and, with it, the strategies of distance–proximity. Living in these suburban communes is considered by our upper-middle-class managers as a more permanent stage in their residential trajectories. The ownership rate is higher than in the more central neighbourhoods, more often the point of entry into the city for those coming from other provinces to reside in the big city with more opportunities (Table 2.5).

The choice of a suburban life is firstly related to the presence of children who are said to be central in the process of selecting residence. Managers choosing the suburbs are more likely to be engineers and to work in the private sector. Nevertheless, what is less expected is that those differences do not translate much in terms of city use, day-to-day urban practices or interactions with other social and ethnic groups.

With the exception of Paris, the use of the private car to get to work is around 30 percentage points higher for those residing in peripheral areas than for those living in the city centres. This is, of course, a consequence of the greater distances they need to travel to get to work, but also of the construction typology of their areas of residence (lower densities incompatible with well-developed public-transportation networks).

In more central areas, the residential character of the neighbourhood is more likely to be combined with other activities of an economic (commerce, offices, etc.) and social

nature (leisure, public spaces), often involving the whole city and/or metropolitan area. This introduces a radically different set of conditions in the distance–proximity strategies deployed by upper-middle-class residents. Managers from the city centres live in flats, logically reflecting the building structure of European cities based on apartment blocks. They also tend to use their private cars less to go to work and, in the cases of Madrid and Milan, are more likely to have a secondary residence (by the sea or in the country) that they use for their holidays and weekends.

Using the city: not much difference between suburban and city-centre inhabitants

Managers of this research live in European cities where state intervention is an old story. Those cities have been structured by decades of public investments, services and public policies. In that sense, the literature about ‘privatism’ or ‘middle-class social and urban secession’ is more relevant to areas of the world where this massive role of public policies has been less central for cities, in the Americas for instance, or where the privatisation process has been massive, as in the UK.

Managers, like everyone else, may join local associations, organisations and/or initiatives, and are more or less involved in local politics. This provides one measure of local rootedness.⁵ As expected, managers do not emerge as very involved actors in civil-society organisations at the neighbourhood level.

To the relatively and generally low levels of participation of Italians, the Milanese informants add an extra dose of demobilisation that appears to be particularly relevant in the political domain, quite unexpected in relation to religious organisations and surprising in the area of sport. The aggregated low levels of participation of the Spanish population are reasonably well reflected in the weak involvement in associations of Madrid managers as well. They appear to participate considerably less than average in religious, charitable and cultural associations at the local level, and seem to be only slightly more committed to sports organisations. French managers do hardly any better when compared to the overall population participation rate, except for their involvement or volunteering with charities (Table 2.6).

There is no strong contrast between suburban managers and those living in the central neighbourhoods in relation to their degree of participation in civil society organisations. Managers feel part of the urban political life, and if they participate less than their lower-middle-class peers, they do follow important questions, and may mobilise when their direct interests are at stake. These findings can be interpreted in two contrasting ways: on the one hand, they point towards civic disengagement and may be considered an indicator of these groups’ tendency to retreat from any engagement in active associative life. On the other hand, with a more prosaic interpretation, informants consider political involvement a low priority within their busy lives marked by long working hours, professional trips and responsibilities, and family duties. Most of our interviewees report working more than a 50 h week and, for a minority, more than a 70 h week.

However, they do not radically disappear from the public sphere. If their modest degree of socio-political involvement could indicate a relative retrenchment from the public sphere, their practices in terms of use of public services and participation in the city’s sociocultural life would somehow tell us otherwise. In this respect, Table 2.7 provides evidence that their use of public services is quite significant, far from a retrenchment from the public-services sector.

Table 2.6 Participation in associations at the neighbourhood level (%)

		<i>Sport</i>	<i>Charities</i>	<i>Cultural</i>	<i>Religious</i>	<i>Political</i>	<i>Other</i>
France^a		32	15	28	11	3	–
Paris	Central	4	13	4	2	2	17
	Peripheral	15	15	8	8	15	31
	Mixed	10	12	5	5	7	20
	Homogeneous	0	16	5	0	0	21
Lyon	Central	3	3	2	5	2	5
	Peripheral	8	10	2	7	3	16
	Mixed	5	7	0	3	3	5
	Homogeneous	7	7	3	8	2	16
Italy^a		19	15	15	11	6	–
Milan	Central	2	0	2	0	0	2
	Peripheral	2	0	4	0	2	2
	Mixed	0	0	2	0	0	2
	Homogeneous	3	0	3	0	2	2
Spain^a		19	11	17	11	5	–
Madrid	Central	5	2	3	2	2	5
	Peripheral	10	2	5	2	0	8
	Mixed	7	0	5	3	0	3
	Homogeneous	8	3	3	0	2	10

^aAverage national data from ESS 2002 (Newton and Montero, 2007).

Table 2.7 Use of public facilities (%)

		<i>Kindergarten</i>	<i>Local doctor</i>	<i>Sports facilities</i>	<i>Library</i>	<i>Public park</i>	<i>Public transport</i>
Paris	Central	17	71	67	40	75	94
	Peripheral	17	75	67	58	75	92
	Mixed	22	78	66	41	73	95
	Homogeneous	5	58	68	47	79	89
Lyon	Central	15	81	51	20	68	80
	Peripheral	11	92	48	31	40	68
	Mixed	15	80	46	20	54	78
	Homogeneous	11	93	53	31	53	69
Milan	Central	31	94	63	6	59	84
	Peripheral	30	95	59	43	73	41
	Mixed	37	100	52	37	65	52
	Homogeneous	26	90	67	16	67	69
Madrid	Central	–	–	80	19	95	98
	Peripheral	–	–	84	13	86	85
	Mixed	–	–	93	24	94	92
	Homogeneous	–	–	75	13	86	91
Average	Central	18	71	64	21	74	89
	Peripheral	16	75	63	32	66	66
	Mixed	21	77	62	30	71	79
	Homogeneous	14	70	65	23	69	77

Public services: no privatism

The hypothesis of the systematic 'exit' from collective services in general, and from local public services in particular, does not hold here. In contrast, our results bring evidence of intense, but selective, use of the services of the welfare state, as well as of public facilities and infrastructures by these groups. They do not seem to be acting following a logic of retreat: they regularly use public transportation, health-care systems, sports facilities, parks and libraries, particularly if they are closely located to their neighbourhoods. In this respect, few differences seem to exist between the city centre and those residing in the periphery.

Our respondents emphasise their participation in city life, as well as in social events in the neighbourhoods, and the vast majority declare that they use their local facilities, schools, public transport and public services in general on a very regular basis.

School is the exception: intense mobilisation to avoid social mixing

Schooling strategies are an excellent example of how managers modulate their interaction with other social groups through a complex balance of distance and proximity, with the expectation of pursuing their strategies of self-segregation without completely seceding from the urban spaces they inhabit. In more exclusive neighbourhoods, a considerable number of parents trust the school in the public sector (because middle classes are dominant in the area), feel at ease with some level of social mixing at school and even encourage it, as some degree of diversity is seen as a good thing for their children. By contrast, in more mixed areas, parents are far more concerned about the potential consequences of that social mixing and exit from the local public school, confirming the old Lemaire and Chamboredon argument that spatial proximity does not guarantee social proximity, since the better off can always deploy strategies of segregation in the domain of services.

Our findings support Maloutas's (2010) results for Greece. Education is one of the clearest examples of a deeply unequal quality of service consumed by residents of different socio-economic backgrounds living in the same neighbourhood. Maloutas (2007) studied the process of 'inverted bussing' (a reverse version of the US scheme aimed at reducing the ratio of students from disadvantaged backgrounds in the schools of certain underprivileged neighbourhoods) in Athens, and called it 'dynamic segregation', in comparison with the 'static segregation' that exists when families physically relocate away from the neighbourhood in search of 'better schools'. Focusing on the strategies of school avoidance developed by the higher classes in Paris, Oberti (2007) points out that the higher quality of schooling in more homogeneous upper-middle-class neighbourhoods is creating incentives to settle in these more homogeneous areas. Similarly to the work of Butler and Robson (2003a, b) for London, which provided evidence of residential trajectories driven by schooling strategies, there is increasing evidence in Paris (Oberti *et al.*, 2012) that this is becoming an important factor behind the residential strategies of its urban middle classes.

French managers bitterly complain about those public schemes they would like to see working in ways more adapted to their own needs and expectations. They criticise the lack of adaptation of the state-school system to the demands of an increasingly globalised society and economy, or to the needs of their children, hence their use of private or charter schools to educate their children. In France, competition for a good education has become a national obsession affecting most social and ethnic groups, but managers

are particularly concerned and well informed about the impact of a degree from a prestigious academic institution for the future job prospects of their children. Although our questionnaire did not particularly cover this aspect, many interviewees stressed school as an important feature in their residential trajectories. The Catholic semi-private school under state contract is the classic exit strategy to get children into what they consider to be a better school. This system is systematically used by those living in mixed areas. For those living in upper-middle-class districts, there is far less pressure among those parents who feel at ease with the local population (in Dardilly or Le Vésinet). In only a few cases did school strategy alone explain managers' residential choice; rather, it is one factor among many, and once they live in a certain area, managers mobilise the most appropriate strategy to enrol their children in a good school. The school question was repeatedly mentioned: most managers had found what they considered a relatively satisfactory solution for their children, even if criticism of the school system was quite widespread.

In Madrid, managers living in mixed neighbourhoods (and sometimes even those living in more homogeneous neighbourhoods) send their kids to private schools located in privileged areas (often on the outskirts) of the city. Teaching in foreign languages (mostly in English, but sometimes also in German or French), constitutes one of the main markers of distinction, as well as a feature for private and charter schools to attract pupils. By developing processes of 'inverted bussing' (when children from affluent families are taken by bus to exclusive schools, often located at the outskirts of the city), they hope to expose their children to 'higher academic standards' and have them interact with children of a similar (or preferably superior) socio-economic background, thus avoiding potential 'mixing' with lower social strata. A 36-year-old manager from Madrid, married with one small child and expecting a second one, who recently moved back to Mirasierra where he had grown up himself, points out:

I think that with children, Madrid [the city centre] is a little exhausting, ... one of the things that killed me about living in Madrid was that either you take your child to a local school, and hope that he gets a decent education, or you have to put him on a bus at 6:30 in the morning, and when they are three years old sending them like that to the other end of Madrid ... and that made living in Madrid really uncomfortable for me.

So he chose to go back to the neighbourhood where he grew up, and where he could take his children to school, knowing that they would be surrounded by the 'right kind' of peers in the classroom.

A 35-year-old female manager, married with three small children and working as a consultant for a large IT firm, clearly explains how the school was central to her choice of residence:

If our son had not got into the school in Mirasierra, we would not have come to this neighbourhood to live. We were pretty sure that they were going to enrol our eldest son there, but then the school admission process got complicated, and he nearly did not get in. We really liked that school, and it was a key factor for choosing this neighbourhood.

Everyday life: no retreat, using services and enjoying an urban lifestyle

In order to gain a better understanding of the degree of rootedness in urban space and use of the city, as well as to identify counter-tendencies in terms of secession or 'privatism', questions were asked about everyday practices in the public sphere,

including managers' shopping, leisure and socialising activities within their cities and neighbourhoods.

By contrast to Manchester and London's middle classes, the managers in our sample have a very territorialised social life: they regularly go out in their neighbourhood and city, and do not live in a privatised manner. They use a wide array of services quite systematically. They can afford to go out in the city, enjoy it and benefit from this opportunity on a regular basis, even if they live in more peripheral areas. Table 2.8 lists data on the frequency with which our informants went out and used private services in their city and neighbourhoods in the month preceding the interview.

Roughly speaking, nine out of 10 informants had gone out to a restaurant for dinner in their city in the month before the interview. This is true for virtually all areas of residence, regardless of their degree of centrality or homogeneity. Going to restaurants in their own neighbourhood is less common in Milan and Lyon, particularly in the more peripheral areas where the offer is actually quite scarce. Nevertheless, two in three of our informants living in the central neighbourhoods of Madrid and Paris, and roughly half in the other two cities, had used local restaurants. In general terms, those managers living in more homogeneous neighbourhoods had gone more often to local restaurants than those residing in mixed areas. This provides us with an indication of the search for relative privacy, while managers remained active in their local environments. It also reminds us of the fact that co-presence in the same neighbourhood does not necessarily mean interaction with other social groups, since they could be going to exclusive places with higher prices and a more selective clientele.

Similarly, on average, two-thirds of our informants had also gone to a bar in their city during the month before the interview, and around 40% of them had done so in their own neighbourhoods. Our Milanese and Madrilenian managers push those averages up, and no clear pattern of differences appears between those living in city centres and those from the periphery with respect to attending bars in the city centre. Once again linked to the smallest offer available, but probably also to the very urban layout of the more peripheral neighbourhoods where distances between home and meeting places are considerably greater, frequenting bars in these types of areas is considerably reduced when compared with the city centres. Half of our sample had gone to the cinema in their city, and to the extent that the offer was available, they also went to the movies within their own neighbourhoods. A similar proportion had visited a museum, and about a third had gone to a concert or to the theatre. Approximately one in five had also attended a sports event. All these activities took place mostly at the city level, since events of relatively high quality could rarely have occurred at the neighbourhood level. The indicator of going to a hairdresser shows their banal rootedness in the local environment. While more than eight in 10 of our informants had used a hairdresser in their city in the previous month, a considerable percentage of them had done so in their own area of residence, more often in central neighbourhoods.

Moving around the city and suburbs

Several pieces of data confirm an important finding: neither the city centre nor the suburbs are isolated urban neighbourhoods in this research, partly as a consequence of the selection. About two-thirds of our informants living in the city centres declared that they visited peripheral areas of their metropolitan conurbation for social, leisure

Table 2.8 Going out and using private services (previous month) (%)

	Restaurant		Bar		Museum		Cinema		Theatre		Concert		Dance		Sport event		Hairdresser	
	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood	City	Neighbourhood
Paris	Central	85	65	49	35	2	53	37	34	2	19	4	8	0	8	0	92	54
	Peripheral	90	40	50	10	50	0	70	40	0	20	0	20	0	30	0	67	33
	Mixed	84	57	58	32	47	3	58	27	39	3	21	5	10	16	0	83	49
Lyon	Homogeneous	89	68	32	26	79	0	53	53	26	0	16	0	10	5	0	95	58
	Central	91	40	68	32	40	5	42	12	26	12	26	3	7	2	26	17	73
	Peripheral	80	19	44	17	27	5	34	12	17	5	8	5	10	4	15	2	79
Milan	Mixed	88	32	61	27	34	3	41	7	12	3	8	2	10	2	25	15	73
	Homogeneous	82	27	51	21	33	7	35	17	32	14	26	7	3	16	3	79	45
	Central	96	47	74	41	47	14	57	33	31	6	27	8	10	4	14	2	84
Madrid	Peripheral	91	27	82	39	27	2	52	12	16	2	16	4	2	23	4	86	40
	Mixed	96	33	78	41	33	6	52	9	22	0	20	0	6	30	4	83	49
	Homogeneous	92	39	79	39	39	8	56	33	25	7	23	10	5	5	10	2	87
Average	Central	97	64	81	61	67	10	72	43	38	3	51	10	0	23	0	87	67
	Peripheral	97	45	67	42	47	3	55	10	39	0	29	3	3	0	17	6	86
	Mixed	97	47	77	47	64	0	73	32	48	4	47	4	5	0	31	4	88
Average	Homogeneous	97	62	73	56	52	9	54	23	32	0	36	7	0	12	2	86	69
	Central	93	54	69	41	53	8	56	30	32	6	31	6	7	2	18	6	83
	Peripheral	89	31	63	30	34	3	48	13	24	2	17	4	6	2	19	3	82
Average	Mixed	92	41	68	36	43	4	55	16	28	2	22	2	9	0	26	7	80
	Homogeneous	90	46	64	37	45	7	49	28	29	7	27	7	5	3	12	2	85

or commercial reasons. A similar share of those living at the outskirts of the cities say that they regularly go to the city centre for those same purposes.

The 'no-go' areas, discussed in a previous section when talking about neighbourhoods where our managers would never go to live, have a second complementary angle when referring to areas within their own neighbourhood. When asked about their feelings of insecurity in their neighbourhood at night, upper-middle-class managers give interesting and somehow paradoxical answers. In general terms, and within a general perception of relative security (only one or two in 10 express feelings of insecurity in the area where they reside), those managers living in more mixed neighbourhoods show a slightly higher level of anxiety about the matter compared with those who live in more homogeneous upper-middle-class areas. When asked about whether they avoid certain areas of their neighbourhood because of their perception of insecurity, one in two Parisian managers living in the more wealthy areas respond affirmatively (while only one or two out of 10 in a similar position in the other cities responded in the same form). In the case of those managers living in more mixed neighbourhoods, Madrid stands out with three out of 10 expressing their avoidance of certain areas of their neighbourhood for security concerns (compared with two in Paris and Milan). These answers give us some clues about the feeling of relative isolation of upper-middle classes in homogeneous neighbourhoods (with a less busy street life), as well as about the relative uneasiness derived from their having to share the neighbourhood with groups of lower social status in the case of the managers living in more mixed areas. A 47-year-old single female manager from the socially mixed central area of Milan explains how she enjoys living in this area, and she is happy with the possibility of having a larger apartment at a more reasonable price, but there are internal boundaries in the neighbourhood of which she is clearly aware:

... I did not specially like the area, but it was liveable, not particularly known for being an area with high crime, you need to go a little further away for it to become 'the Bronx.' ... I refer to my area as Lorenteggio. If I mention the name of my street, nobody knows where it is, but if I mention Giambellino, people look at me with eyes popping out of their orbits, because Giambellino is just like 'the Bronx.'

Most of the managers interviewed in Mirasierra point out that at the boundaries of the neighbourhood, there is a settlement of informal houses where there is very intense drug-trafficking activity, which attracts heroin addicts to the area dismantled after the fieldwork for this research was finished. They did not seem to feel openly threatened by these people, but their presence disturbed them. In addition, many others mentioned the fact that the low-density nature of the area and the quiet streets (most notably of the area of detached houses) made them feel a little insecure at night. A 32-year-old female manager summarised these fears quite well:

I do not feel insecure at night because I come back by car with the doors locked. I would not come back walking on my own. At the end of Mirasierra, there are some settlements of drug addicts, where drugs are trafficked. It is quite far, but with the car you can get there in 10 minutes. You need to pass by there to join the M-40 (second ring road of Madrid), and there I definitely go with the doors locked at anytime of day when I have to pass by there, something which I try to avoid. You can see them there, and they are often high on drugs and cross the lanes of the M-40 without looking when you are joining the lane and going quite fast, and you could have an accident.

A 58-year-old manager in the public sector, married with two small children and living in Ibiza, points out how, in the outskirts of his neighbourhood, there are some areas where there are problems of insecurity:

... there is an area of lower houses where there are often youths in the street who are a little barbaric. They vandalise public property.... I have had some problems of insecurity related to them. A few years ago, my car was stolen. My oldest son who used to live with me got the wheels of his car stolen as well.

The language used by our managers is to be expected. For instance, in the case of the Xth arrondissement in Paris (mixed areas), this 51-year-old engineer with three teenagers who manages the logistics of an agro-business's subsidiaries, mentions that his neighbourhood is characterised by 'crime, the proximity of Gare du Nord and rackets at school,' but he adds that it is generally a safe place. Similar words are also used in Fontenay-sous-Bois in the mixed suburb of Paris in particular when identifying problems around the RER station close to the commercial centre, which attracts a more diverse crowd from less well-off surrounding communes.

Conclusion: Managers Choosing a Place to Live—Family Ties, Relative Degree of Mixing and Strict Control

Family continues to play a central role in the life and choices of managers. This is hardly surprising in Italy or Spain, where family relations have historically been stronger than elsewhere in Europe, although this is in sharp contrast with the data collected in Manchester by Savage *et al.*

The familistic model of the Mediterranean welfare regime, to which Italy and Spain clearly belong, implies that the parents' household constitutes the basic unit of solidarity and cooperation, as young adults leave their parents' house to live on their own later than in other European countries (67% of Spanish 18–29-year-olds still lived with their parents in 2008, compared with 58% in France, 51% in Germany or about 30% in Sweden according to data from the European Social Survey; Meil, 2011). This also means that elderly parents often live with their siblings once they start losing their autonomy (in Spain, 23% of over 75-year-olds lived with their siblings in 2008, compared to 8% in France, 11% in Germany and 2% in Sweden, according to the same source). Finally, once young people are ready to leave their parents' house (and before the growing dependency of their elderly parents makes them consider the option of bringing their frail parents to live with them), the influence of this familistic welfare model is particularly visible in the process of selecting the area of residence. In this respect, Italy and Spain are the European countries where people tend to live closest to their parents (within 5 km of their parents' home for 69% of people) according to data from the Survey on Health, Age and Retirement in Europe of 2008 (Meil, 2011). These data contrast with the case of France, a more centralised and integrated nation state, where the percentage is one of the lowest in Europe, slightly below 40%.

The number of managers who declare having chosen their neighbourhood of residence fundamentally based on their family history and physical proximity to close relatives is astonishingly high, and contradicts a large body of literature stressing gentrification dynamics to explain urbanisation. This influence of the family in the

residential strategies of the upper-middle classes takes different forms: inheriting a family house for those of a bourgeois origin, choosing to live close to their parents (or siblings) already living in the area, or going to live in a neighbourhood where one of the spouses spent their childhood. Being close to one part of the family, a 'personal trajectory factor' following Martin-Brelot *et al.*'s (2009) terminology, emerges one way or another as a very strong driving factor in the choice of neighbourhood.

The special intensity of the interaction with parents, siblings and, in some cases, the extended family, is largely related to the caring responsibilities assumed by the family in relation to its dependent members (children, the elderly, etc.). Historically, the weak welfare state was also explained by the strength of family ties. The Mediterranean welfare regime (Ferrera, 1996), its ideal type in which Italy and Spain are generally included, is characterised by the weak level of state intervention, relatively underdeveloped care markets, strong family interactions and the responsibility of women in providing care within the family. Strong marriages and a relatively strict gender division of labour in the household have traditionally been the central institutions of this regime, although they have evolved rapidly in recent years. Marriage rates are lower than ever, and divorce and cohabitation, until recently relatively uncommon practices in southern Europe, have increased considerably, especially among younger cohorts. Unpaid female work within the family can therefore no longer be taken for granted, as many young women have entered the labour force and are increasingly reluctant to abandon their jobs to take on family responsibilities. In this context, immigration has emerged as an important response to the socio-demographic transformation of these societies, with great consequences in terms of responsibility for domestic tasks, childcare and assistance for the elderly and disabled. Many of the most burdensome domestic and care responsibilities have in fact been transferred to migrant women, very often working under informal arrangements. Nevertheless, family solidarity (grandparents and extended family members) remains an important component in the complex equilibria developed by urban households within this regime in order to combine professional trajectories and family responsibilities.

As expected, the overwhelming majority of our Milanese informants appear to be extremely embedded in family networks, and proximity to close relatives emerges as one of the main driving factors behind their choice of neighbourhood of residence. Family solidarity networks contribute greatly to solving the daily challenges derived from efforts to make family life and careers compatible for both partners (particularly after having children). The case of Madrid is quite similar to that of Milan, with proximity to family networks as a key element in the process of selecting the area of residence owing to the density of family relations, as well as to the role played by relatives in contributing to solving the challenges of trying to making work compatible with family life.⁶ In Paris and Lyon, levels of interaction with the family are also very regular among our managers, although the considerably higher level of development of social protection schemes in France has contributed to making reliance on relatives less necessary. Nevertheless, our informants' level of interaction with their families remains considerable, and more subtle traces of family influence have also been identified.

Choice of neighbourhood is also related to family networks, in particular in Lyon and Madrid. This point was strongly stressed in the case of Villeurbanne, but many examples are found in the centre of Lyon, too. More than a third of our respondents chose their neighbourhood partly in order to be close to their parents, brothers and

sisters, and to gain some family support. Some of them, once they move, even try to convince their siblings to move to the same area.

When questioned about how they took into consideration the needs of their children in the choice of residence, managers living in peripheral areas are the most likely to answer affirmatively in all four cities. When taking into consideration the social composition variable, a clear contrast emerges between the French cities, where informants in the more homogeneous neighbourhoods express a higher concern for the interests of their children in their selection of residential area (especially in the case of Lyon, but also clearly in the case of Paris), and Milan and Madrid, where it is the managers living in more socially mixed areas who more often express the idea that they took into consideration the interests of their children in their selection of area of residence.

It is quite clear that the attachment to families constitutes an element of stability within the territory, to a large extent preventing mobility towards other areas of the city that may, potentially, be considered more attractive in relation to other desirable factors (location, public services, social composition, etc.). This anchors some of our upper-middle-class managers in more mixed and central areas of the city where they (or their partners) were born and/or raised and where their family resides, despite their drives to move towards more exclusive and/or peripheral neighbourhoods. This process is related to Maloutas's (2004) concept of 'endogenous social mobility', a phenomenon that may account for a very important aspect of the choice of neighbourhood among our informants, particularly in the cases of Milan and Madrid, and specifically among those upwardly mobile groups that may require a higher degree of family solidarity to solve their care needs. Following this argument, those younger upper-middle-class families in a better financial situation would not need to establish themselves so physically close to their relatives (although they may still choose to do so), since they may purchase the care services they need from a third party and could therefore move to more homogeneous/peripheral neighbourhoods if they so wished. As mentioned earlier, this is also the case in the mixed neighbourhood of Paris and Lyon, but this seems a more marginal phenomenon in the case of Milan.

The anchoring of upwardly mobile groups in more central and/or mixed neighbourhoods is obviously conditioned by the availability of housing they may consider adequate. To the extent that higher-quality housing exists (or is built) in those areas, this possibility becomes feasible. Maloutas (2010) points out how the selective availability of those types of housing only in certain areas of socially mixed neighbourhoods may imply the emergence of dynamics of 'internal social segregation' in those areas. The emergence of those possibilities of micro-segregation is linked to the 'partial exit' strategies of our managers, who may continue living in mixed neighbourhoods while exerting a higher degree of control over the spaces, times and intensity of their interactions with other social groups living in those same areas.

Obviously, the availability of those types of housing at prices that the younger cohorts may afford cannot be taken for granted, even for our upper-middle-class managers. As Levy (2005) points out, the model of an upward residential curve over the course of the lifecycle not only excludes working-class groups, but also is not guaranteed for young households in the higher social strata, since these groups have more difficulty than their elders had in gaining access to high-quality housing. This allows Levy to signal the existence of a residential opposition, not only between social classes but also between generations. Taking these elements into consideration, staying in areas where the family lives (or used to live, a process linked to the inheritance of family apartments) may

not in fact be the result of the impossibility of moving out (because of higher prices in other areas or the difficulty of solving their care needs), but on the contrary may be the expression of a capacity to stay (paying the high prices for the high-quality property they aspire to in order to live in those areas). Those who leave the areas where their families live may be guided by their capacity to choose moving out, but also by their incapacity to afford staying. The case of the centre of Milan is particularly telling for that process, but it also applies to the centre of Paris.

The differences between newcomers and long-term residents in a specific neighbourhood appear quite interesting in relation to their residential trajectories and strategies.⁷ Newcomers tend to live considerably more often in the more exclusive neighbourhoods, while managers who are born in the city are significantly more present within mixed neighbourhoods. Newcomers in a city do not have the resources to accurately control their interaction with other social groups, so they tend to play particularly safe by choosing a neighbourhood with a high proportion of managers. By contrast, those who know the city and the neighbourhood well do not need to live further away to play the game of distance and proximity: they have the knowledge and networks to precisely select their encounters with other social groups (in shops, bars, sports and cultural facilities, and especially in schools).

The evidence presented in this chapter does not support the arguments that foresee a future characterised by the predominance of anomic behaviours among the wealthiest sectors of society. Far from it, our findings suggest that these managers keep a strong attachment to their area of residence, where many family members and friends also live. The responses of our interviewees are consistently more nuanced and complex than any simplistic theory about their drive to free-ride or to secede from society, forcing us to develop more sophisticated conceptual frameworks to account for the growing prevalence of multilayered identities and spheres of reference and solidarity, specific combinations of elective segregation and local involvement, and more active patterns of mobility combined with local embeddedness. Most upper-middle-class households do not aim to live in isolation, complete segregation or absolute social or urban secession. Most of the time, they skilfully combine proximity and distance in relation to other social groups. Managers in Lyon, Milan, Madrid and Paris develop strategies to select the dimensions they are willing to share with other social groups, and also to find a more segregated social environment for themselves and their families.

The managers studied in this project remain profoundly rooted in their city and often in the neighbourhood in which they reside. They develop strategies to mix with other social and ethnic groups in certain domains, while staying away and increasing their social distance in other areas. Most of the interviewees see their cities as resource-rich environments in terms of services and networks of friends and families allowing them to lead successful professional careers while raising a family and having a dynamic social life.

The sociability sphere (notably family relations) has been identified as a good proxy for understanding how, and to what extent, these individuals put into practice this game of distance and proximity with other social groups in their neighbourhoods and cities. Managers are certainly no heroes of the urban social mix cause. They overwhelmingly declare their preference to reside in neighbourhoods characterised by a strong proportion of managers like themselves, thereby expressing the existence of a powerful drive towards self-segregation that is, in any case, far from being accomplished. Those who live in more mixed areas tend in fact to like their neighbourhoods less,

express their intention to move out more often, feel more insecure, be less involved in local politics and, above all, declare more often to have chosen this area to establish their residence owing to the existence of family ties and to its affordability. Most of the time, their choice of living in a more mixed area seems to be not the result of a free personal option but a stage in their residential strategy. Thus, to put it mildly, the desire to live in contact with more diverse populations does not seem to be the most prevalent attitude among our informants. In particular, in those socially mixed neighbourhoods, we found managers who had inherited a flat or a house or, alternatively, who were so deeply rooted in terms of friends and families that they stayed put. Alternatively, we have also identified upwardly mobile managers from modest origins who feel more at ease there than in classic urban bourgeois areas.

Nevertheless, through their daily practices, these managers participate in different types of activities, frequent public spaces and use a combination of public facilities and private services in the areas where they reside. They feel fully integrated into the city, even hail their participation (and that of their children) in the local dynamics and activities through the (controlled) exposure and interaction with other social groups in the public sphere. Our findings show that upper-middle-class managers play quite a skilful complex game of distance and proximity with other social groups, as the educational strategies of their children clearly exemplify: the more socially mixed their residential environments are, the more they will develop exit strategies from the public schools of the area (as Oberti or Van Zanten had already shown in Paris). Conversely, when they live in a very homogeneous environment, with a high concentration of upper-middle classes like themselves, the anxiety about social mixing seem to decrease, and they become more likely to send their children to state schools.

Managers in this research use available resources in the city and neighbourhood for their advantage while maintaining their distance from other groups. Beyond the logics of self-segregation or gentrification, these groups make residential choices that contribute to the formation of individual and collective identities while prioritising their social networks of friends and family. For this group of managers (once again not the upper class), there is no need to use the excessive simplification associated with a depiction of the 'ghettos of the rich', or with a hypothetical secession. A more fruitful approach is based upon the location and identification of those processes (when they exist) within a more complex continuum of situations ranging from total immersion within the local urban context, to the complete isolation and secession of the upper-middle classes from the society to which they belong.

Relative social mixing under strict control is for us the name of their game, a game that clearly reflects power relations. Our managers enjoy the city, feel part of it, and deploy their resources to use distance and proximity according to their norms, expectations and/or interests. The bad news is, however, that they use their resources to maximise their own interests, whatever the implications of those choices may be for other social groups.

Notes

- 1 The length of residence is clearly affected by the age of the respondents: we checked that the average age in the four cities was similar.
- 2 This regional rootedness was also identified in previous research concerning SME networks in St Etienne within the Lyon region (Le Galès and Tirmarche, 2004).

- 3 The fact that Milanese elites tend to leave the city whenever possible is nothing new, and it is mentioned by many observers and politicians, as a disengagement of the Milanese elite from their city.
- 4 Sartrouville is a commune close to Le Vésinet but which includes large social-housing estates with families from different ethnic origins and many young people.
- 5 In order to obtain an estimate of the relative degree of involvement of our upper-middle-class managers in civil society organisations, we compare their answers with the data provided by the European Social Survey for the total population of each country.
- 6 The low fertility rates seen by Italy and Spain over the last few decades, also visible among our informants, reflects in fact the difficulties of coping with the burdens of reproduction, and particularly with the need to make work and family life compatible (most notably for women).
- 7 This point has been specifically made by François Bonnet.

Three Ways of Living in a Globalised World: Transnationalism as a Cleavage Among European Managers

In the previous chapter, managers were depicted as individuals rooted in their local environments. Interviewees talked about their sense of attachment and belonging to their cities' neighbourhoods, and the point was made that managers adopt distance–proximity strategies in order to obtain the best of the resources from their local context. These empirical results point to the territorialisation of these European managers, reaffirming the importance of tradition, family and incremental social change in European cities (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 2000; Recchi and Favell, 2009) and questioning the arguments of social scientists who underplay the socio-cultural thickness of territoriality (Urry, 2000, 2005; Castles and Miller, 2003).

Mobility is undoubtedly an increasing feature of contemporary societies, particularly with regard to long-distance travelling (Elliott and Urry, 2010). Thanks to new technologies and the reduction in travel costs, more people can afford to travel abroad for tourism, studies or professional reasons. In recent decades, statistics on travel show a dramatic increase, and almost 800 million passengers were carried by air in 2011 in the European Union (EU-27) alone. Besides mobility in the real world, increasing 'virtual mobility' has very substantial effects on individuals' lives and behaviours. The use of mobile phones and the internet has made it possible to cross national borders instantly and virtually to work, consume, enjoy, establish and maintain social links.

The main objective of this chapter is to analyse the mobility practices of the managers in our sample, study their transnational dimension and study how those practices interact with the territorialisation, rootedness and 'selective belonging' of these groups. The purpose of these efforts is to further understand how these groups are nested in the different territorial levels, and to what extent they use their capacity to combine different degrees of involvement at the different territorial levels in order to gain more resources, and to maintain or improve their social status and lifestyles. Our interest lies in how these groups combine the different scales instead of substituting one for another, and to what extent it is possible to detect a distinctive European

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dimension in this process. The working hypothesis points to the fact that some of our managers are adopting 'partial exit' strategies in the spheres of work, leisure or education,¹ helping to set in motion a social-differentiation process within this social group, with possible consequences for the power structures at the national and local levels.

Mobility, Transnationalism and Social Differentiation

Mobilities, fluxes, flows and movement have become central concepts to grasp for social change in Western societies. Some authors have even equated globalisation with the process of mobilities, while others have stressed the increasing interconnections and cross-border exchanges that mobility entails, highlighting that if mobility is not a novelty of the modern (or postmodern) age per se, the scale of movement around the world, and the fact that mobility bypasses national societies, certainly is (Urry, 2007).

Much of the debate on mobility during the 1990s pointed to the de-nationalisation process, the transformation of national borders in favour of a new global society (Robertson, 2000; Scholte, 2005; Beck and Sznaider, 2006). Quoting Scott (1995, p. 253), 'there are no longer any territorial coincidence(s) between the political forms of states, the flow of economic transactions, and the cultural and communal boundaries of societies'. The debate was, and to a large extent continues to be, focused on whether the nation state has lost its primacy over globally effective forces, the extent to which nation states have become subordinated to global markets, and how extensively the 'nation state container has been riddled with holes' (Mau, 2010b, p. 10). Besides the notion of de-nationalisation, two additional concepts became central for this literature: de-localisation and de-territorialisation, both partly discussed in the previous chapter. Within this theoretical framework, individuals and organisations are supposed to be less attached and care less about their local context (where they live, work, etc.) because they have more freedom to choose, and they organise their life and promote their interests beyond the local territory and the traditional social structures (social class, family, etc.), which have partly lost their capacity to protect (and control) them. These processes are considered part of the wider long-term process of individualisation (i.e. the breaking away from historically pre-existing social norms and constraints, and the loss of traditional certainties with a corresponding increase in individual choice, freedom and responsibility; Beck, 1992). These processes strain and weaken both the local communities and the country of origin in favour of a more global sense of belonging, as well as more global social, economic or political interests and concerns (Giddens, 1994; Bauman, 1998; Beck, 1999).

With the turn of the millennium, a number of social scientists from different disciplines, grounding their analysis in sound empirical evidence, questioned the excessive emphasis on the notion of global society, mobilities and their consequences by stressing three main interconnected elements. First, and without contesting the importance of mobilities, these scholars argue for a reconceptualisation of space, and for a dynamic analysis of the interaction between the different scale levels, bringing the local back into the analysis, not as a 'residual of the past' or a 'traditional pre-modern constraint' (Friedman, 2002; Hannerz, 2003; Pries, 2005; Roudometof, 2005; Savage *et al.*, 2005) but by claiming its persistent role in everyday life and its consistent influence on the structuring of life patterns. To use Friedman's (2002) words, 'they contribute to show that roots are necessary to run across routes'. The results we presented in the previous

chapter perfectly fit this argument. As a consequence of this, the opposition between 'mobile elite' and 'local poor' appears too simplistic, and a finer analysis is needed to understand how these two processes (mobility and rootedness) interact, and to understand how individuals (leaving aside the hyper-mobile high bourgeoisie) combine the scale levels in everyday practices. We agree that mobilities are an additional dimension co-existing with the social stratification process, but we argue that the two dichotomies (local vs. mobile, and mobile elite vs. local poor) do not capture the complex reality of contemporary European cities. Our results also show that within the upper-middle classes, mobility should not be taken for granted, and a process of social differentiation clearly exists.

The second element these authors stress is the persistence of the nation state as a structuring agent, despite increased mobilities and cross-border exchanges. Without contesting that 'for a growing number of people everyday life and social practices, frameworks of symbols and perceptions, and the meaning and use of physical artefacts are no longer confined to one place or territory' (Pries, 2005, p. 169), and accepting the critique of methodological nationalism and the consequent necessity to move away from the nation state as the sole unit of analysis, many authors prefer to abandon the concept of 'global', and to use that of 'transnational'. The concept of transnationalism aims, in fact, to go beyond the traditional opposition between local and national, on the one hand, and global, on the other, while assuming a strong interdependence between the different territorial scales. In this way, these authors suggest that nation states and national societies are still the basic constituents of cross-border, overlapping and intertwining structures, but also that there are increasing horizontal connections between national and local societies. Transnationalism is defined as 'interactions taking place among people and institutions in two or more separate containers or nation states' (Roudometof, 2005, p. 119). Within the concept of transnationalism, a growing empirical literature has developed, mainly in the field of migration studies, showing how migrants (both highly educated professionals and low skilled workers) develop a dual feeling of belonging, and continue to maintain a strong attachment to their countries and villages of origin via different mechanisms besides remittances (Mau and Mewes, 2012). In the last two decades another study developed beyond migration studies within the frame of *social transnationalism* and around the notion of *transnationalism from below* (see Kennedy and Roudometof, 2002; Smith, 2002; Mau, 2010b). This approach is interested in the everyday behaviour and social worlds of all individuals (not only migrants), focusing on transnational activities at the micro-level, as well as considering how these are linked to, or embedded in, organisational and institutional structures. This is a useful theoretical and empirical concept to analyse the interrelations of the different territorial scales at the individual and organisational levels.

The third aspect is strongly related to the previous ones: despite the increased degree of freedom to (potentially) move and exit from one's society, mobility costs are far from negligible, as national and local societies clearly (as we have seen) continue to structure life patterns. Kennedy's (2004) study of transnational professionals in the building and design service industry reveals not only that location remains central, but also that regional/national interests, loyalties, rules, norms and practices remain so as well. Along the same lines, Favell's (2008) study shows that expatriates experience an ongoing tension between proximity and distance, they feel free but at the same time excluded, they feel that they have all the possibilities ahead of them, and at the same time they miss their 'rootedness'. Furthermore, despite their longing for a denationalised freedom,

these people are still part of their national society and often return home when they face practical problems, typically health ones (the dentist is the most quoted example), as they trust their home system more than the one they are living in, despite its effective quality. Under different forms, these studies suggest that individuals are not *primarily* rational and informed economic actors who decide to move 'only' because there are more or better labour opportunities abroad. Considering their profile as consumers, their possibilities for exit are considerably greater and are exercised through their choices of products and services in a free-market context where no clear monopolies exist. Yet, individuals are first of all *citizens* embedded in a network structure, in which the territory (local and national) plays a crucial role (see Chapters 2 and 4 on the role of family ties). Returning to the Hirschman framework already developed in previous chapters, the exit option for citizens refers to international migration experience, but this is quite an extreme situation, since it can be very costly. Increased mobilities have made it possible to exit temporarily or partially, for instance by working abroad and commuting, even across relatively long distances (Pfister, 2006) or by acquiring some goods or services abroad but not others, or by investing abroad (mobile or immobile capital), while staying in the country of origin to live. In this way, individuals combine strategies of exit, voice or 'simply' indifference as complex representations of new forms of loyalty.

These elements constitute the starting points of the analysis, and shape the research questions about managers living in European cities that we undertook in this investigation. We argue that as exit strategies are still relatively rare, even among the most educated and highly skilled white-collar workers, there is a need to better understand those who stay, a complementary group to those studied by Favell or Kennedy. Our managers represent such a group, and we studied how they deal with the different scale levels and whether they use them to develop strategies of partial or temporary exit. We considered both our interviewees' concrete and virtual mobility practices by relying on the concept of 'transnationalism from below', which refers to various practical behaviours such as the frequency of international calls, emails, watching satellite TV, access to international media through the internet and various forms of international tourism, etc. (Beck, 2002; Roudometof, 2005; Larsen et al., 2006; see Fig. 3.1).

Our empirical findings reinforce the hypothesis of the existence of a cleavage among European managers and the potential existence of a process of social differentiation associated with mobility, as the managers we interviewed are clearly divided into two sub-groups in terms of concrete mobility practices. Nevertheless, even if their transnational mobility is limited, they feel deeply involved in a virtual transnational society, hence their investment in their children that they repeatedly stress in the interviews.

Living Abroad: A Dividing Line Among Managers

Empirical data on Europeans' geographical mobility show that this is not a widespread phenomenon. On average, only about 17% of Europeans have moved after leaving their parental home, and the reasons they give to explain their lack of mobility are associated with their satisfaction with the place where they currently live (63%), and family-related considerations (14%; Vandenbrande, 2006). Long-distance mobility is even less common. When considering only those who have moved at least once, 18% of Europeans have moved outside their region, 4% have moved to another member state, and less than 3% have moved outside the EU. On the whole, the Eurobarometer

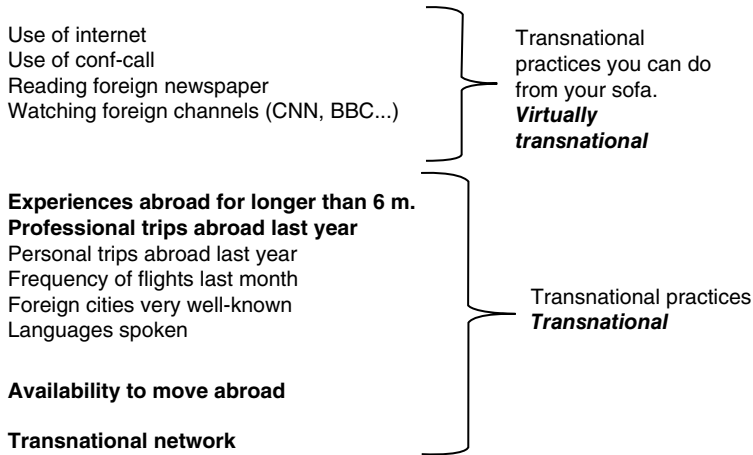


Figure 3.1 Transnational indicators.

survey on mobility (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006) shows that only around 22% of the European population has ever lived in a region or country other than that where they come from. Focusing on the three countries included in our comparison, transnational mobility at the European or extra-European level is extremely low: only 2% of Italians had ever moved to another European country for more than 6 months (and insignificant numbers to countries outside the EU), compared with 5% of Spaniards who had moved to another EU country (3% to extra EU countries) and 3% of the French who had lived in other European countries (4% outside the EU). These numbers appear very low when we compare them with those of the US (32% of US citizens live outside the state in which they were born), although as Vandenbrande (2006) points out, moving to another state in the US does not have the same implications as in Europe (where the institutional, legal, cultural and social differences among nation states are much greater, and where the linguistic barriers are very significant). If, in the US, Bruce Springsteen appropriately sang ‘born to run’, European’s long-term territorialisation and low rate of mobilities rather signals that Europeans seem to be ‘born to stay’.² ‘But the times they are changing’, sang Dylan, and so are European managers becoming transnationally mobile?

Our research on European managers points to some interesting evidence in this respect: about half the managers in our sample (in all four cities) have spent more than 6 months abroad. These figures support our choice of the category of managers, as the transnational mobility we measure is far higher than among the rest of the population (Recchi and Favell, 2009), and this is even more the case if we consider the fact that we are talking about Southern European cities. It is well known that educational levels increase the likelihood of reporting long-distance mobility (Rodriguez-Pose, 2002; Mau, 2010b), although the above-mentioned European survey report on mobility shows that the percentage of highly educated people having moved within European borders is only 7%, and if we consider mobility outside Europe’s borders, it is only around 4%. In contrast, in our sample, around 50% of interviewees from the four cities have experienced international mobility (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Percentages of respondents with more than 6 months' foreign experience by sex and city

Experience abroad	Cities							
	Paris		Lyon		Madrid		Milan	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	64	46	38	40	63	38	44	39
No	36	54	62	60	37	62	56	61
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

The first element to stress is that our managers are more mobile than the rest of the population, although as a whole, they cannot be considered as a homogenous social group. Half of them had lived abroad for some time, while half had not moved to a foreign country for a significant amount of time. It is interesting to contrast those two groups in terms of similarities and differences in their narratives. When we analyse the four cities, clear differences appear: Paris stands out for its higher-than-average number of managers who have worked abroad, closely followed by Madrid, while Lyon appears to lag behind and Milan somewhere in the middle. Here, the capital effect (Paris and Madrid) seems to play an important role, offering managers better career prospects. In Paris, the importance of having experience abroad is stressed as a precondition for becoming an upper-rank manager. A Parisian female manager working in human resources explained:

the career trajectories of managers more and more often require some experience abroad. We almost force them. ... but only for those who volunteer ... We must manage all that. Today, we do not appoint a CEO if they do not have experience abroad.

In the other cities, this pressure seems to be somehow less intense. In Milan, for instance, few accounts explicitly mention the necessity of going abroad for career purposes, since this does not seem to be perceived as a necessary condition. It is certainly considered to be an advantage, though, and those managers who do have international experience seem to earn a higher income than their colleagues. In all four cities, the percentage of managers with experience abroad earning between €7,000 and €10,000 per month (i.e. the very high end of our sample) is considerably higher than among the other managers. One of the Milanese managers in an international high-tech company suggests a reason why having experience abroad may still not be considered absolutely necessary for career prospects in this city:

I have an international profile as a manager, I spent two years in Germany, then London, and I worked with US colleagues in Silicon Valley. After working in a multinational in an international environment, you can't think of going back to an Italian company, first of all because people are afraid of you, you are over profiled, many Italian managers are not able to speak a word of English, so if you're familiar with international markets, this can create tensions with your boss, you know more than the boss, it is almost a form of discrimination.

This account points to the (small and medium) size of most Italian companies and to the fact that in many cases, (middle) management is selected on a local (often familial)

basis rewarding entrepreneurial loyalty more than managerial competences and skills acquired from professional experiences abroad as the main explanatory factors for the fact that an international trajectory is not necessarily considered a plus in this city.

The tension between choice and constraint in relation to international experience mentioned by the Parisian manager appears as a recurring theme. Our interviewees typically emphasise the importance of personal choice, in particular if theirs was a positive experience abroad (in terms of career, family life, etc.). A Parisian manager, aged 45, with a business-school degree, working in an accounting firm in an international environment, said: 'I am passionate about working abroad. I have spent more than 6 months in Romania but I am always in touch with "my" foreign part of the world, i.e. London, San Francisco, Boston, New York'. Another female manager, aged 44, working as a civil servant in charge of a European bureau within a French ministry, who spent a year in England and 3 years in Africa, says: 'I have always wanted to work abroad in international affairs'. A 30-year-old Madrilenian manager, working in the marketing department of a property company, who spent 2 years in Britain and 6 months in the US, points out what we could call the 'decreasing costs' of planning a move abroad (having already experienced it before) by stating: '... once you enter that international circuit, the whole world becomes too small for you'. He further elaborates the importance of spending time abroad, emphasising the relevance of such an experience:

... now that I look back at it with some perspective, I realise that studying abroad, to force yourself to make that effort, having to work with people from other countries, to study in another language, to have to lose those fears of going abroad, all that helps you a lot ..., you learn to 'throw yourself into the swimming-pool' ... when they ask you to go to Turkey and look for potential partners over there, you just go ahead and do it...

Another manager (aged 37, married and with a child aged 2), working in an IT company in Madrid after a lengthy period in Silicon Valley and Seattle, highlights the importance of some experience abroad, not only for professional reasons, but also for the significant impact this has on a person's learning and maturing, something of growing importance in a 'weightless economy' and part and parcel of current globalisation: 'I recommend it; everybody ought to go abroad, particularly when you are young, but not only. It opens your mind. Otherwise, you run the risk of being just like everyone else, and you become sclerotic'.

Yet, during the interviews, many managers revealed that there is often little choice involved in this process, and it is a quasi-obligation to go abroad. As a Spanish manager (aged 51, married and with two children, aged 14 and 11), working for an electronics multinational corporation, put it:

Within multinational corporations, in order to progress or to move up the hierarchy, it is compulsory to move abroad. If you do not have a more international perspective, you will not go up.

Ambiguities are quite strong regarding the degree of volition involved in this process. In fact, it often seems to be a combination of both aspects, so it is difficult to disentangle what was the driving factor, something that may also vary over time and throughout the manager's career. A 44-year-old male Milanese mechanical engineer, married with two children and whose partner is a housewife, constitutes an interesting example. With a

bag always at the ready, he moved to Saudi Arabia for a year and Kuwait for another year, then spent 7 months in Indonesia and 2 years in Germany, and will probably be moving to Turkey in the near future; he explains his situation as follows: 'I have never refused a secondment, and this is the reason why I am still in this company and in this position'. Clearly, he could have resigned and searched for another job, but he decided to stay: the element of agency is present in the trajectories of our managers, even in cases of strong structural pressure for the internationalisation of their professional trajectories. Another Madrilenian manager, a 41-year-old married with two children (aged 3 years and 1 month), working for a financial firm, has extensive experience working abroad, notably in Latin America, and considers that he has already paid his dues:

Right now, I do not think I would go abroad again. I have already sacrificed my life to the professional requirement to be abroad. Between 25 and 35, I spent half of my life living abroad in Brazil, Mexico and Chile. Those are the years when you can do that kind of thing, and now I have already done what I had to do.

A recent empirical study among Italian managers emphasises the increasing tension between choice and constraint regarding the international trajectory of this group. The recent financial and economic crisis hit white-collar workers and managers as well, with a decrease of 9000 managers in Italy in 2012, mainly concentrated in the north of the country (2500 only in Milan), particularly affecting middle-aged men (Manageritalia, 2012). One strategy for these managers who find it increasingly difficult to find a new job in a similar position to that which they used to have is to temporarily exit. The percentage of migration among managers at the Italian national level has increased from 1 to 3%, and in Milan, this percentage has increased up to 8%. The 'choice' to go abroad can be explained by the lack of opportunities on the domestic labour market and by the wish to maintain similar lifestyles. The same survey also points to the fact that these managers see their exit as a temporary choice, until the labour market can offer them new opportunities without downgrading them.

This is also the case for some female managers in Madrid; their narratives tell us they had no chance of a good career in the firm had they stayed in Spain where female managers in high places are still relatively rare. Although they state they were willing to do so, and they gave a very positive account of their experience (a case of partial exit—going away to accumulate resources to return and obtain a better position), some of them also indicated in the interviews the high cost they had to pay in personal terms.

As one might expect, the number of women who had worked abroad in all four cities was much lower than that of men. Once again, Paris scores highest for the number of women with this kind of experience (45.5%), while the other cities have lower figures, and the two southern European cities (Madrid and Milan) score quite similarly. Even though our numbers are limited and not statistically representative, the trend that we can perceive in Madrid and Milan reflects some features of the southern European model, which favours men's careers. Women are still penalised in southern European labour markets, both in terms of equal opportunities and in terms of promotion.³ The fact that women experienced a secondment abroad less frequently than men seems to be the result of both demand and supply factors. On the one hand, women explain how they are less likely to be expected to go abroad, as they often occupy lower hierarchical positions, or their bosses simply do not ask them to. On the other hand, their narratives more often account for the difficulties of such an enterprise owing to family reasons: children

in the first place, but also partners with difficulties in re-locating. A Parisian female engineer working for a large American high-tech firm, aged 30, with two children, clearly expresses her disappointment about the lack of opportunities to be more mobile, 'international mobility is difficult within this firm, I am thinking about resigning to get a job in Canada or Australia'. Then, she adds, 'I'd never go alone but with my husband and children'. At the same time, she explains she would not accept going abroad during the school year for her job, as she wants to remain close to her children.

In different ways, all narratives point to the importance of the life course in adopting mobility decisions, and this is even more the case for women. In all cities, in fact, women appear more mobile at the earlier stages of their career, when they have no family responsibilities. By contrast, when they have a well-established position in the company, and a busy personal life (partner and children), mobility becomes considerably more complicated. A Milanese woman, aged 35, working as a manager in the human-resources division of a telecommunications company, tells us:

During secondary school, I spent one year in the US, I was studying foreign languages, and I really wanted to go abroad to better understand other cultures. I tried to go with Erasmus when I was at university (during the 1990s), but the demand exceeded the offer, and I was not selected. When I started working, I have always worked for multinationals, I travelled around the whole south of Europe, the area I was responsible for. Then, I moved to Tel Aviv for several months, where the company had a start-up. Now, I am more stable, I have two children, 2-year-old twins. It is complicated. For the moment, I am staying put.

Besides life-course considerations, generation (age) also appears as a significant aspect playing a role in explaining transnational mobility. The Eurobarometer mobility survey data stress that younger, higher-educated cohorts are more internationally oriented than older ones. For these younger cohorts, being mobile and crossing borders is almost a natural way of being, and part of how they try to advance their career, skills and expertise (Miles, 2000; Ester *et al.*, 2006). According to the Eurobarometer data, we should have found a profile corresponding to a young up-and-coming manager with substantial foreign experience, both for education and for professional reasons, and with high labour mobility. At the other extreme, we should have found a more traditional profile made up of older national/local managers, with very poor labour mobility, having spent most of their working lives in the same company. This dichotomy seems to represent reality only partly. In Lyon and Madrid, although the figures are different, younger managers appear considerably more mobile than their more mature colleagues, while this does not seem to be the case in Paris or Milan.

Age does not appear as a clear-cut explanatory factor, and our story is not one of a transformation brought in by a new generation of managers, clearly not in the case of men. The case of women, on the other hand, seems to fit better the notion of a generational effect, since we systematically find more women managers with some experience abroad among the youngest cohorts. The story of a 36-year-old single manager, living in the homogeneous Milanese suburb included in our study, represents the profile of the mobile manager with an international professional trajectory. She spent 6 months in Scotland on an Erasmus scholarship while she was at university. She learned English well, and this factor helped her land her first job in a small branch of an English company in Milan. She worked there for 2 years before becoming responsible for the closure of the branch, a process during which she acquired new skills

and legal expertise. She moved to England for 7 months to work in the company headquarters, but the English site was eventually closed, so she went back to Milan, where she worked in a large market-research company for 4 years. After that, she joined a Chinese company where she works as an accounting manager responsible for overseeing all human-resource issues. This job required her to travel to China once a year for 2 weeks.

In contrast, the story of an accounting manager living in the same homogeneous suburb of Milan, aged 54, born in a medium-sized Lombardy town, married and with a grown-up son, appears as quite representative of the profile of an older, significantly less mobile, female manager. Despite having worked for the same company for 40 years, she had never moved abroad, even though she declared that she would have been willing to do so, but she was never asked to, and now she claims she is too old. She did not travel at all for professional reasons (neither did she for tourism), and she hardly spoke any foreign languages (elementary English and French). Nevertheless, she worked long hours (an average of 10h though she used to work a 12h day), but her work was very local, and did not require any international travelling.

To explain the dividing line between managers with some professional experience abroad and those with none, the analysis points to two main elements. First, there is the type of company respondents work for: among the managers of our sample, those working in larger private companies systematically have more international experience. This factor largely helps to explain the low exposure to the international arena of the Lyon managers, a city with fewer large corporations than the other three cities, and where the majority of interviewees worked in SMEs. In Paris and Madrid, more than 70% of the managers worked for large corporations, while Milan lies somewhere in between. Multinationals offer their employees the opportunity (sometimes even constrain them) to work in another branch abroad to improve their skills, and they may also offer professional and educational training in their headquarters.

As Mau (2010b) suggests, people can be transnational and acquire a transnational habitus even while staying at home. Working for a multinational company is a factor of transnationalisation in itself for those who did not move abroad, despite working in that environment. Many interviewees working in large companies told us about their internationalisation experiences by working in international teams with foreign colleagues. A financial manager from Paris X (a mixed area), aged 46 and working for an internationalised French (utilities) firm, spent only 5 months in New York while he was a student on an internship, and now he explains:

I used to work with French colleagues within an international firm led by the French. Now, my company is again a French multinational firm, but the difference is that we have many foreigners in my team, and we face the internationalisation of management teams.

Another manager in Milan, working for a multinational information and technology company, who has never lived abroad, says: 'I work all the time with foreign colleagues. We have a team in Bangalore (India); then we work with the Chinese, our internal language is English. Practically, we are always connected to the rest of the world'.

Mobility in this case is experienced not directly but through the mobility of others (the colleagues who come to Milan or Paris), and mostly via virtual connections. We will return to this issue, which appears to be growing in importance. The private

versus public sector constitutes another important axis in explaining respondents' international mobility. Managers working in the public sector are substantially less mobile than those in the private sector, since they enjoy fewer opportunities of being internationally mobile. A female manager from Paris working in the public sector is very critical and upset about the lack of opportunities to go abroad: 'I work for the French state, which has not understood that we are in Europe. The state decentralises, but I have a feeling nothing is done in relation to Europe'. The same is true for this Milanese manager, working in the local municipal economic office: 'My work is very local, we do not have many contacts with other countries, we have some international bids, but that's it. I do not have the possibility to go abroad, and I miss it a bit'. Our interviewees seem to witness, in all cities, the backwardness of the public sector in the internationalisation sphere, and in the Europeanisation of its employees. People working in the public sector, as we will see, also have more difficulties in speaking foreign languages and have fewer opportunities to improve (with ad hoc training) or interact with their European colleagues, despite the fact that European rules directly and indirectly affect their work.

Managers working in the private energy sector as technical engineers, by contrast, are quite mobile as they often work in infrastructure building projects abroad. This is one of the jobs that necessarily requires geographical mobility, and people who choose it are open to this kind of experience but also even seek it out, expressing their wish to leave a national society that they perceive as too narrow. They want to meet new people, and the cosmopolitan spirit is very much alive in a good number of interviewees. As one Milanese engineer puts it: '... pipes run all over the world, you must be ready to go, if you choose this career'. In Milan, the sample includes a group of engineers, over the age of 50, who have worked for electric companies, travelling abroad in South America, Eastern European countries but also the Far East. They tell a classic story of going transnational for the company, and then benefiting from good job opportunities back at home. A 57-year-old manager, with a degree in chemistry and a masters from the US, who has worked for several energy companies, and has spent his life all around the world, says: 'I have seen my family very little, I was in Portugal, in the US, and then all around Italy. I built a career, yes; now it is time to stop'. In other cases, these managers move with their whole family, partner and children, sometimes reporting positive experiences, often emphasising the difficulties they encountered, more frequently telling stories of a mixed experience. In Le Vésinet, the wife of an engineer (at the upper end of the sample) highlights well the family tension inherent to this kind of lifestyle: 'the problem with engineers is that their wives are really "too good"', meaning that they did not work and followed their husbands most of their life. By Parisian standards, they appear too traditional. This same woman also mocks those engineers:

all our friends who are engineers have married a nurse. When they were young they had no time to look after the girls so they used to go out to the nursing school. And those young nurses in the making were delighted to find an engineer. Those guys, they needed a woman that brings security to them.

Other managers wanted to work in particular firms or sectors because that would maximise their chances of going abroad. A young banker (aged 29) from Le Vésinet makes clear that he went to work for a particular bank, 'the only true European bank,

Table 3.2 Managers with experience abroad by place of birth and city (%)

	<i>Experience abroad</i>	<i>Born outside the city</i>	<i>Born in the city</i>
Paris	Yes	60	40
	No	40	60
Lyon	Yes	66	34
	No	51	49
Madrid	Yes	37	63
	No	42	58
Milan	Yes	54	46
	No	34	66
Total	Yes	52	48
	No	42	58

and that is very important for my career'. Or in the same sector, this chief operating officer for a large international bank makes his choice very clear:

I wanted to work for the biggest international bank in the world, which is both local and global, 'glocal,' and we speak a lot of English, we are always working with other countries, we travel a lot, working methods are international, and there are far more possibilities in terms of career, and more opportunities to be much better paid. ... but this is also a demanding environment, disciplined and very rigorous about working methods.

Besides the opportunities offered by the companies to go abroad, there is another interesting element stemming from the interviewees: managers who have already experienced some national geographical mobility seem to be more ready to also experience an international one. Particularly in the French cities, we encountered more managers born outside Paris and Lyon, who also told us about their experiences abroad (Table 3.2).

One of the most important dimensions that all empirical studies report as reducing geographical mobility is the local embeddedness of a person (Vandenbrande, 2006; Recchi *et al.*, 2009): individuals are reluctant to leave their families, friends, local habits or routines. There is a mix of attachment and fear of the unknown that curtails the experience of migration, even when this is considered as something temporary. Yet, when people have migrated once and left their *home* and their networks, it can be easier for them to move again, particularly if they have no children and no deep roots to keep them in the new place. The experience is no longer in the domain of the unknown, and their primary social networks (family and relatives) have already been 'left' in the place of origin. In a certain sense, it is as if the social and psychological costs of the second move were lower, and this would make mobility easier. As the European survey on mobility reports, it would appear that geographical mobility can be learned (Vandenbrande, 2006).

The differentiation between managers born inside and outside the city where they live shows different patterns in the use of the scale levels. Managers born outside the cities seem to use the metropolitan level as a stepping stone to the international dimension. Most of these managers come from smaller cities, they moved within the national labour market, going where more opportunities were offered, and only later did they attain the international labour market. In contrast, the respondents born in the cities included in our study do not report national labour mobility; they do not go elsewhere

in the country (with the exception of Lyon managers), bypassing the national level, to jump directly to the international sphere.

The managers we have presented in this section stress the importance of their experience abroad in their narratives and speak about them mostly in positive terms. Yet, they also mention the challenges of adapting to new countries especially for their families, and in this respect our findings largely overlap with Favell's (2008) and Kennedy's (2004) vivid descriptions of expatriates' trials and tribulations, so we do not need to pursue this point any further.

To sum up, we can say that half our managers are quite mobile and aware of the importance of international geographical mobility, and they feel that mobility and the experience of other cultures are important assets for their career and life. Nevertheless, these managers often think of international experience as a temporary stage, not as a permanent project.

Professional Partial Exit Strategies: Going Abroad and Coming Back

Our findings strongly support the hypothesis about partial exit strategies, and make evident the use of the different scale levels by the upper-middle-class managers included in this sample. In the four cities, experience abroad is conceived of as a way to improve job position within the internal labour market.⁴ Far from seeing their transnational experience as a planned permanent move, interviewees framed it more instrumentally as a way of gaining expertise in an international setting to boost their future career in a local company once they returned. A 38-year-old financial manager in a large international bank living in Paris spent a year at the University of Chicago where she was a student at a prestigious business school. As she specialised in finance, she stayed in Chicago for 3 years before returning to France to work for the same firm, where she landed a very good job in the centre of Paris. She did what was required of her. Now, she is married and does not plan to move again in the short term, but she has done what was important for her career. A younger executive assistant in a large American firm went abroad to England when he was in his twenties. He had a lot to say about international competition and the pressure experienced in those environments, although he was quite happy to be located in Paris, from where he rarely travels for his job: 'I am with an international firm, but I always stayed in Paris. That's good'. In Milan, a manager in the telecommunications sector, who travelled around in the first stages of her career spending several periods abroad, now thinks that she can stay put and has done what was required of her, although she thinks she could potentially move again.

The logic to work abroad for a while and to return seems to be dominant in finance, but it is also quite common among other professional profiles. A public-service manager in a regional branch of the ministry of education in Paris worked in Russia and Athens for about 10 years in total. Now he is 46, with a good job, and for family reasons, his plans are quite clear: 'I don't want to move again in the foreseeable future, I have already spent 10 years abroad at the age of 45; it is good enough'. Another 37-year-old single manager living in Milan spent 2 years in Ireland in an insurance company and then returned to Italy:

I would say that Italy is my home ... There are many young Italians who I met in Ireland; they are very clever and brilliant ... When they finished university, they moved to Ireland

and are forging a career. I have made another choice, I stayed there for a while, but when I was asked to move for a longer period I said no, I was already 37. You know, when you are 37, I have had my experience abroad, it was enough for my job

Similarly, this 48-year-old manager living in the city centre and working in a multinational company, married with three children, spent 1 year in Switzerland (not too far from Milan) and said: 'I am very rooted in my territory, and so I did everything I could to come back'. Another, also living in the centre of Milan, said: 'I work in Paris and I commute all the time, I have not moved, I like the idea of coming back and having my home here, in Milan'.

Our findings do not support the de-territorialisation hypothesis, which is supposed to undermine the role of national and local spheres as arenas where careers can soar to new heights. If that were the case, managers would use foreign labour markets as springboards leading to new pastures. By contrast, managers from our sample describe their transnational leaps and moves as inextricably bound to their home terrain (the city and possibly the neighbourhood): hardly ever do they picture themselves 'here today and there tomorrow'. In their words, 'tomorrow' invariably amounts to 'my home turf' or even 'hometown'. Furthermore, for the majority, their preferred option is to stay put bar short trips, rather than to relocate abroad.

What about the other half of the sample who have never spent more than 6 months abroad? The great majority of them (60%) indicate that, in principle, they are available to move. We can therefore say that geographical mobility is part of our managers' lives, as they are potentially available to move. Some of them just indicate they were never asked to, they had no particular reason to go abroad except that it might be a good thing. A common phrase in the French interviews is: 'I do not particularly look forward to it ...' something like 'life is good where I am, so why bother?' When asked whether he would be ready to go abroad, this Parisian manager, working for an insurance company, said: 'In principle, I do not exclude it but that's not my favourite scenario today'. Other managers explicitly regret not having taken the opportunity to go abroad, such as this manager living in Milan, aged 50, born in Naples: 'I very much regret not having lived abroad for a while; Anglo-Saxon countries, the US, London, these are a reference point for the labour market; having some experience there is fundamental for education and training; it opens your mind'. This same manager adds: '... not to live all your life there, but to have a formative experience'. Another single, 43-year-old Milanese manager working for a private national bank, living in the city centre, declares that he has never been offered that option and is very unlikely to as he deals with national clients, though in principle he would be open to the idea.

Only a fraction of the managers who did not move said they would not be available to relocate, because they think they will never be asked, or would not want to do so even if asked. This media sector manager, aged 45, living in Paris X, makes it quite plain: 'I do not care. I work for a French TV channel and for a French audience ... I'll not be asked to move'. He has never travelled for professional reasons. A 39-year-old Milanese woman, a lawyer in a medium-sized national company, reports that her work is very national, and she has no reason to go abroad. She says she is fine like this, and she does not want to leave her friends and family to move abroad. Echoing her words are two Milanese managers, both living in the city centre. One works for a small manufacturing company, is 56 years of age and married with two children, has never moved abroad, would not want to and rarely travels. The second is a 39-year-old engineer, married with two children, who

works for a planning and construction company. He told us that his work is very local and that he does not travel at all, never moved abroad and has no intention of doing so. In fact, he just bought a new flat in Milan (right next to his parents).

Reasons related to family, children, parents and partners are the most frequent arguments in managers' narratives accounting for their lack of will to move abroad. It must be said that a number of managers build their argument mostly around their partner. A Madrilenian manager, aged 58, working in the financial sector (married with a daughter in her early twenties), provides a clear example:

At this age, I would not go abroad (if asked). I would have loved to move when I was younger, but I would have had the obstacle of my wife. She would have never accepted. She is adorable, but not very daring. She is a lady, and she is not going to expose herself to being in a country where they do not understand her when she goes shopping.

An engineer in Paris, aged 37 and working for a large international telecom company, says he is happy to work with foreign colleagues but not so sure about going abroad: 'I don't really wish to go abroad, but most importantly my wife is absolutely against it'. Another 47-year-old Milanese engineer, married with one child, says:

At the early stage of my career, I had some opportunities to go abroad. I was offered the chance to go to Argentina, but I had a partner, who is now my wife, and I was very in love with her. When I discussed this opportunity with her, she refused, and I decided to favour our relationship instead of the career.

In another case, the manager told us that he was available to move, but his wife was absolutely against it, and this would make the experience of moving abroad a huge sacrifice, which had to be economically rewarding; otherwise it would not be worth it. Some women managers also blame their husbands for not being willing to move abroad, but they also mention the fact that they are quite happy not to be too far from their parents.

On the whole, questions about the aspiration for mobility confirm this picture, and they also appear in line with the European mobility survey results. This survey shows that geographical mobility is generally perceived as a 'good thing', although only one in three Europeans would say geographical mobility is a good thing for families, who often have to assume most of the costs of that mobility (Table 3.3).

Besides family reasons, there is another important element in the availability to move that must be taken into consideration: at what stage the respondents are in their career. Those who have already reached a high hierarchical level do not want to bother anymore. Several Milanese managers near retirement express this argument using the following metaphor: 'it is time to *tirare i remi in barca*'. A senior 55-year-old public sector manager in Madrid, married, with two sons in their twenties, mentions the limits

Table 3.3 Respondents available to move abroad by sex and city (%)

	<i>Paris</i>		<i>Lyon</i>		<i>Madrid</i>		<i>Milan</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Available to move	65	68	73	76	73	72	55	56
Not available to move	35	32	27	24	27	28	45	44

of how much you can ask from your family, and how at this point in his career he no longer considers moving a legitimate choice:

I have changed homes 13 or 14 times in my lifetime, and there is a moment when you need to stop, because you cannot expose your family to more tensions (my children attended three different schools in the same academic year).

As we can see from the managers in this sample, women willing to move constitute a large majority of those with a positive attitude towards international mobility, with the exception of Milan where levels are quite low for both men and women. These data partly contrast with the specific experiences analysed before where, as we have seen, women moved significantly less often than men. It is also worth mentioning that the potential availability to move is present among different generations of women, young or married with children, or among the over-45s.

We have limited evidence in this survey to sustain an explanation for this contrast. However, if allowed to speculate, a double explanation might be presented, keeping in mind the need for more empirical research. On the one hand, women may declare their availability or willingness to potentially move but, when asked, tend to refuse (a classic case of cognitive dissonant behaviour?). On the other hand, and we would be more inclined to favour this second explanation, women are less often asked to move by their companies, which give priority to men's careers. Entrepreneurs and top managers may tend to give priority to men regarding experiences abroad for different reasons, including the old prejudice about the importance of men's careers in the household, or women's need to care for their children limiting their potential investment in a job abroad. These are reasons for the relegation of women when it comes to being asked to consider an experience abroad.

The high percentage of women available to move tells us that women invest considerably in their professional careers, an important element for defining their identity; indeed they are open to working experiences abroad. Female managers in our survey partly recall the profile that Hakim (1991, 1996) labelled 'Career Planners' to describe women characterised by a high level of education, with a full-time job, who adapt their personal (familial) choices to their career. This is particularly relevant for single women. This 37-year-old Milanese marketing manager, single, living in the mixed neighbourhood and working for a private company, spent one and a half years in Paris, and another year and a half in Antwerp; now she works 12 h days in London and also declares herself available for a permanent move, at least within Europe. Another 34-year-old manager, part of a couple with no children, works for a multinational toy company. She came to Milan from the south of Italy to study, went to Scotland on an Erasmus scholarship, worked for a year and a half in Madrid, then came back to Milan, working 10 h days and declares herself available to move abroad again, preferably to the UK. A Madrilenian female manager, aged 35, married with three children (aged 4 years, 2 years and 9 months) and working as an IT consultant for a financial firm, explains her perception of gender inequalities in the labour market and how these affect female managers' mobility:

Normally good jobs abroad are offered to men. They normally are the ones with the highest salary in the household, so it is often the woman who quits her job to follow her husband abroad. If I am offered a good opportunity abroad, I could not make my husband

quit his job, so even if I have a good job, it is more likely that I would quit to follow him in the case that he was offered a good position abroad.

So far, what our respondents tell us is that, for the great majority, they are geographically mobile and share an attitude of openness toward international mobility (availability to move). Nevertheless, this information gives us further elements to better understand how this openness is somehow conditioned and confirms our partial exit hypothesis.

The aspiration to move: a secure partial exit, next door and for a limited period

The availability to move abroad for the great majority of our interviewees is defined as a process that should take place under specific conditions: with clear benefits for their career, a determined length of the stay, and certain characteristics of the destination. Overall, managers prefer not to exit without ensuring that they can return. Quoting a Milanese manager, aged 48, living in the city centre in a 160 m² flat and married with three children, when asked if he would be willing to move: 'It depends on doing what and with what salary. The reward should be very, very high, otherwise it is not worthwhile; the company should offer me something really high level and challenging'. Another male manager, aged 47, living in the socially mixed suburb of Milan (Vimercate), married, with three children, tells a similar story:

I live very well where I am, I would not be very happy to move, there should be a high reward, it depends what I would be doing, the salary, and it depends on the options I have to say no. In any case, I would think about it if the period were no longer than 2 years.

The duration of the experience abroad they would be willing to consider (between 6 months and a maximum of 5 years) is explained in terms of personal and professional considerations, and is generally conceived of as a way to improve their current job position and income level. The availability to move temporarily (we could say to exit temporarily) clearly seems to be a way to obtain more of a voice in the local and national context. It is not the experience of living abroad per se that is interesting for a majority of the respondents, but its instrumental character. Some managers in the financial sector are very clear about this when they identify a period in London as a prerequisite for a successful career in their field. This applies to managers in Milan as well as Paris, although the difference is that in Milan they may have to go for a couple of years, while those from Paris manage to go to London regularly, or for shorter periods of 3 months. In this sector, managers who have not worked in London so far anticipate doing so in the near future. A young financial analyst in a large Parisian bank who only spent 3 months in London has no doubt about it: 'because of my career goals, I am very likely to be obliged to go to London for my job'.

The third condition that most of the respondents mention is the nature of the destination country where they are expected to go to. There are few surprises regarding the destinations they may consider: Europe is their turf, and London is the managers' capital. Beyond London, France, Spain and, to a lesser extent, Germany or Switzerland, in some cases northern countries are their favourite destinations. Outside Europe, the US is their first choice, with Asian countries rarely mentioned, and when they are, the reason given is the willingness to know other cultures very remote from 'ours', the same argument used by the majority for not choosing those countries.

**The Most Common Form of Transnational Mobility:
Short-Term and Short-Distance**

Living abroad can constitute a very demanding experience; it is far less onerous to travel for short professional or leisure trips. Nevertheless, these practices are important for understanding the degree of transnationalism of our managers. The restructuring of large firms linked to Europeanisation and globalisation implies a radical transformation of the role and functions of corporate headquarters, as well as that of managers. However, once again, our results are far more nuanced than general arguments suggest, and short-term professional mobility also indicates a significant dividing line among our managers (Table 3.4).

The results presented in Table 3.4 refer to the transnational mobility of our managers for periods shorter than 6 months. As the table illustrates, almost half of the managers in Paris and Lyon did not travel at all for business reasons in the year before the interview, while in Milan and Madrid, the numbers of those who did not travel for business drop to less than a third. Contrary to what we found in relation to the availability to move, in the case of Milan we see the largest number of managers making more than four business trips a year, immediately followed by Madrid, with Paris and Lyon lagging far behind. This slightly intriguing result could have two potential explanations: (1) French managers do not move, or (2) Paris and Lyon represent the two extremes on a continuum of centrality of cities in global economic integration. Our interviews tend to indicate that the second argument is more plausible. Paris clearly constitutes a hub amid global capitalist networks (although less so than London). Managers living in this city, in particular those working for large firms, do not need to travel as much because their colleagues from other European cities come to Paris for meetings. In Milan, for instance, several managers reported frequent trips to Paris for professional meetings, and the same applies to Madrid. In other words, as Paris offices more often lie at the summit of the European hierarchies of corporate European headquarters, the paradox is that the more central the city in economic hierarchies and networks, the less the need for managers to travel on short business trips. Lyon, by contrast lies at the opposite end of the spectrum. For reasons that are both related to the structure of Lyon's economy (fewer international firms and headquarters than in Milan, Madrid and obviously Paris) managers appear to work less often in international firms and tend to be at the lower end in terms of income and education. They are more peripheral in international economic networks, and are requested to make fewer business trips.

Table 3.4 Number of professional trips abroad by respondents' sex and city (%)

Number of trips	Paris		Lyon		Madrid		Milan	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	46	48	41	47	25	33	28	35
1	13	17	17	13	15	18	10	7
2	8	7	21	21	10	12	7	7
3	3	3	7	6	10	6	5	5
4	30	25	14	13	38	31	51	46

Still, in some cases we see the effect of European firms' international organisation and the forced mobility that accompanies it. A manager living in Le Vésinet, in the western suburb of Paris, who works for an accounting firm with headquarters in Paris, says that in the year before the interview was conducted: 'I went to nearly all the main European countries for 2 or 3 days each time, London all the time, Milan, Geneva, Brussels, Zurich, Frankfurt, Amsterdam and even Morocco'. One Parisian infrastructure engineer, aged 60, went on lots of short-term missions in his career to work on various projects, usually for a few weeks in Hanoi or in China. A Milanese manager, aged 40, single and working for an insurance company (mentioned above—he spent a year and a half in Ireland), declared that in the year before the interview, he made 80 trips abroad, mainly within Europe. Another 47-year-old Milanese construction manager said that he travels three or four times per month to China, the Middle East and Africa, and his stays last on average a week. This means that he is away from Milan for almost the whole month.

Large differences among men and women still appear in all four cities regarding this issue, with half the female managers not travelling at all for professional reasons in the year before the interview. As in the case of relocations, the characteristics of the companies play an important role in our managers' travelling practices. Working for the public or private sector makes a dramatic difference, in particular in the Milanese case. Managers working in the public sector systematically travel much less and are most likely not to have travelled abroad at all in the previous year. In Milan, almost all managers working in the public sector (80%) did not make a single trip abroad for professional reasons, while in Paris the figure was 65%, 56% in Lyon and 31% in Madrid. This clearly confirms the relative disconnection of the public sector from ongoing transformations and processes of internationalisation.

The size of the firms for which managers work seems to be a less significant factor for explaining short-term professional trips. Within the private sector, both large corporations and SMEs are requiring their managers to travel abroad. This is a clear sign that, in general terms, SMEs are becoming more oriented towards international markets when it comes to finding clients and contractors; therefore, their managers must acquire mobility competences as well. On the whole, our managers' narratives point to the importance of being mobile, of keeping up with transformations. Managers seem to share a relatively common cognitive framework about the way the professional world functions and how mobility plays a crucial role in this context. Nevertheless, the 'job setting' or the job environment (sector, size of the company, being a multinational or not) plays a key role in providing different sets of opportunities (sometimes constraints) for being mobile.

Despite debates on the 'end of job centrality', our informants' narratives stress that work continues to be a central element for shaping people's identity and life patterns, without obviously neglecting the importance of other factors such as family and place. Jobs contribute to creating a social differentiation process in our managers, however subtle. A rather small group of managers in our sample who never experienced a secondment abroad, who are not willing to move, and did not travel abroad the year before the interview can also be identified. This group represents around 10% of total managers in our sample across the four cities.

The bulk of the group of managers is composed of individuals who consider travelling part of their professional life and, with different degrees of intensity, are quite comfortable with the notion of travelling abroad. Among this group, we can identify

two different sub-groups. The first we can call the 'vanguard' of our managers, referring to those who have already developed the capacities to deal with mobility and use the opportunities it offers (but also to tackle the difficulties potentially emanating from it): they had an experience abroad, in principle are available to move again (provided certain specific conditions are met) and are travelling around for professional and personal reasons. This group, which represents about a quarter of our managers, clearly operates at different scale levels, at least as far as their job is concerned. The second sub-profile is composed of all other managers (actually, they are the largest group) who display various combinations of long- and short-term mobility. Despite the fact that they consider mobility to be important, they are also of the opinion that they have already lived their life, they have too many obligations and constraints, they choose to stay where they are, and, as we will see further on in this chapter, they tend to see mobility as a crucial element for their children, but not really for themselves, as they try to prepare them (sometimes to the point of obsession) to go abroad and be really mobile. A 47-year-old Milanese marketing manager, married with two children (aged 8 and 10), whose wife was not working, summarises this well:

I would like to go abroad for a while, in Western Europe, France for instance. Eastern countries or even more faraway countries can be a very good opportunity, though I think that younger people are more willing to go there, they are more available, they are ready to do everything to forge a career. I have already done it. Probably, my children when they are adult will be forced to go.

What is clear is that these profiles are profoundly shaped by job careers and family obligations, while the type of place of residence (central or peripheral, mixed or homogeneous neighbourhood) does not seem to play a role for understanding this kind of transnational practice.

Mobility, weekends and holidays

Reinforcing the findings that mobility is a central feature of our managers' lives, practically none of them said that they are not willing to go abroad, or did not travel abroad for professional or leisure reasons in the year before the interview. Travelling abroad on vacation and for tourism is indeed a very widespread practice among the managers of this sample.

The importance of travelling abroad for the upper-middle classes is nothing new. Starting in the seventeenth century, the offspring of the upper classes were sent to tour abroad as a means of completing their education. The Grand Tour, as it became known, was seen as part of the process of introduction into society, as the 'tourists' expanded their knowledge and experiences. During the twentieth century, international tourism became a mass phenomenon, since many more people could afford a trip abroad (although probably not the equivalent of a Grand Tour). Vacations abroad are indeed a very diverse concept in our times, taking many possible and radically different forms: from inter-rail back-packing holidays, to international tourist resorts where almost no contact with the local population is expected. Tourism is, in fact, considered one of the most important practices of 'transnationalism from below' (Mau, 2010), involving in most cases an effort to deal with 'diversity' in terms of habits, food, cultures, traditions and, most of all, language. The three countries under consideration in this research

Table 3.5 Number of leisure trips abroad by respondents' sex and city (%)

Number of trips	Paris		Lyon		Madrid		Milan	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0	22	18	27	35	20	17	33	17
1	32	27	36	32	27	26	21	37
2	27	27	17	18	25	24	15	23
3	14	14	9	9	25	20	15	6
4	5	15	10	6	16	13	15	17

are among the top five places in the ranking of countries receiving international tourists, and their citizens often travel abroad on vacation (United Nations World Tourism Organization, World Tourism Barometer Volume 10, May 2012; <http://mkt.unwto.org/barometer/may-2012-volume-10>). It seems therefore particularly meaningful to look at our respondents' leisure trips abroad (Table 3.5).

In accordance with their status, most of our respondents travelled abroad for leisure at least once in the year before the interview, and many of them did so more than once. The differences between the cities already stressed in the previous sections are confirmed here, with Milan having the largest number of managers travelling abroad for leisure, followed by Madrid, Lyon and Paris. Clearly, our managers have a 'taste' for travelling abroad. Those managers who neither travelled for professional reasons nor wished to relocate made at least one leisure trip abroad in the year before the interview. There seems to be some sort of compensation for the professional immobility of these managers, as they try to satisfy their 'taste for foreign culture' during their holidays. In fact, the public-sector managers all travel abroad for personal reasons rather frequently, even more so than many of their colleagues in the private sector.

The narratives of the managers who did not travel abroad for leisure recall life-course-stage factors, when stating that they have babies or small children, which makes it complicated to travel, so they are waiting for this phase of their life to pass so they can start travelling again. The fact that they did not go abroad in the previous year does not mean, however, that they did not go on holidays or that they were completely immobile. As we saw in Chapter 2, a considerable number of interviewees, above all in Madrid and Milan, have a second home in a country village in the mountains, at the seaside or by a lake near their city of residence, where they often go to at weekends. This serves as a reminder that many of our respondents can decide and choose to operate at different territorial levels, staying in their country, near their home if this is more convenient, or travelling abroad when they so choose.

Although rarely mentioned explicitly, income for our respondents is a crucial variable for understanding to what extent travelling for non-professional reasons is a common life-style practice, or remains an extraordinary event carefully planned in advance. A 48-year-old Milanese accounting manager working for a multinational advertising company, married with one child and with a personal monthly declared income of €5,000 and familial income of more than €10,000, exemplifies travelling as an ordinary practice. In the previous year, she had spent 3 days in London, 5 days in Barcelona, a weekend in Prague, 10 days in Cape Verde, 2 weeks in Argentina and a week in New York. On the other hand, another 48-year-old Milanese manager working in a multinational corporation with three

children (19, 16 and 13 years old), with a declared personal income of €5000 and a familial income of about €6000, travels rather frequently for professional reasons (he went to Greece four times, France four times, once to Spain and Switzerland, and once to Mexico for 10 days), and he and his wife took advantage of the Mexico trip to combine professional and leisure time. This is not the only case where business travel turned into leisure journeys, since other respondents told us that their partner went with them on long weekends to some capital cities to take advantage of a professional trip.

A leisure trip can take place for all sorts of reasons (holidays, or a mix of work and holiday, etc.), but it is again striking how many of those trips are related to the family. Some managers, in Paris and Madrid, and to a lesser extent in Lyon and Milan, visit a close relative who is living in a foreign country, or significantly visit their children who are studying or working abroad. Once again, family ties operate as good predictors of certain types of short-term mobilities. This Milanese managing director, married to a Brazilian woman, went to Brazil for 2 weeks to visit his parents-in-law and travels to Brazil frequently. Another has a sister working in Paris, and this becomes an excuse for weekend visits. Another reason that occasionally surfaced in the interviews is international adoption, a situation that prompts couples to travel to Asia, Africa, Latin America or Eastern Europe. As one financial manager in an international computer firm puts it (aged 47, Paris), 'I feel more French than European, but I have Asiatic children, and that's quite a window on the world'.

A Western-Centric World

Most of the managers in this sample, when asked about whether they would be available to move abroad, stress that they would be available to move to a nearby country, with Western Europe emerging as the limit of the possible for many of them since they consider these countries friendlier and somehow more similar to their own. Furthermore, returning home for weekends or holidays would also be easier and cheaper. After Europe, the area for potential moves appears limited to the northern hemisphere, the UK (London) and the US (with New York as the most quoted city). They often explicitly rejected the idea of going to the Middle East, since they believed that this would probably imply living in secluded compounds with security guards all around, leading to a worsening of their quality of life, especially for their families.

Madrilean managers are considerably more likely than the rest of the interviewees to mention Latin American as a destination for an experience abroad, since the cultural distance is not that large, some 'quality of life' elements (human interaction, street life, climate) can be similar to those they appreciate in Spain, and there is a shared perception that it is a region of the world with considerable potential for social and economic transformation.

Together with the rest of the EU (notably France and Italy for their cultural proximity, as well as Germany for its economic power), the US appears as a leading potential destination country. Those who have been there already for significant amounts of time emphasise its positive and negative attributes. In this respect, a 37-year-old IT manager with significant US experience, married, with a small child is one such clear example:

I really liked the US, particularly for working. They value what you are professionally and make the most of your potential. At least in the IT sector, jobs are strictly meritocratic, you

reach the level that your capacities allow you to. The one with most merits becomes the boss, and generally, there, you admire your boss because they are smarter than you, and you learn from them, and that is something that 'does not happen all the time' in Spain. ... Seniority does not mean much over there.

On the other hand, he does not want the US '... to raise a child, it is a slightly more "wild" environment' for his son.

Paris managers, who might one day move if the destination is not too far away, are very explicit about the fact that they do not want to go beyond Western Europe, and the closer the better. A 44-year-old female manager working for an international social organisation often travels all over Europe on short business trips, yet when it comes to longer periods abroad (6 months or more), she says: '... it depends where. I really want to stay in Europe, not too far away from my parents, in Belgium for instance'.

The small group of respondents who declare themselves available to move without any conditions are, on the whole, a defined group: managers in the earlier stages of their careers, those who have already had this experience and do not have familial obligations (they tend to be single, with no children), and those who say they are fed up with the way their national societies function. A 30-year-old computer engineer, living in Paris X, spent 6 months in San Francisco on an internship and now works for an international firm; he spent more than 3 months in Bangkok training new people because of his firm's delocalisation strategy in the previous year. He is ready to go abroad if asked by his employer, but while managers often do not want to go abroad because of their partners, his answer by contrast is: 'I am ready to go abroad in principle, but not if I am single'.

Certain exceptions to the Western-centred pattern also exist, as some managers said they wished to go to Africa or India, as this Milanese engineer says:

in those areas where there is something to build up, something important to do, not in the old and sad Europe. Although these are only dreams, I would leave tomorrow, but I have family obligations, a wife and children, very deep roots, and it is difficult to pass from dreams to reality.

Here, we can see the tension between the desire for the new and undiscovered, the pioneer attitude that Favell (2008) also reveals regarding his interviewees and the importance of deep roots and family obligations. Our IT manager from Madrid mentioned above also points out the interest of working in countries like India or China:

... those places are boiling right now, the enthusiasm, the ideas, the people ... young people are 'hungry' over there to change the world and their lives, to progress, and I really like it when there are people with passion for what they do.

Once again, the managers from our part of continental Europe are very far away from those interviewed by Savage and his colleagues in Manchester, where continental Europe was hardly mentioned in contrast with Australia or New Zealand. The horizon of our managers is not the world as such, but still the north-western part of it.

The analysis of the destination of trips produces similar results regarding the number of countries and cities mentioned by our respondents. They made short

Table 3.6 Number of foreign cities well known to respondents by city (%)

<i>Number of cities</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>
0	12	20	6	7
1	12	20	13	16
2	16	19	12	19
3	22	15	17	20
4	10	9	18	20
5	28	17	37	18

professional trips to London, Paris, Brussels, Madrid, Barcelona, Berlin, Frankfurt and other European capitals. As far as non-European destinations are concerned, the US appears as the most frequent destination (with New York, San Francisco, Boston and Chicago among the most mentioned), but India and China are also cited. Destinations for non-professional trips partly differ and show that Europe is also made of small and medium-sized cities with their own regions and traditions. Paris and London confirm their attraction as tourist and leisure destinations, but other parts of France, typically the Côte d'Azur (Nice), the Loire Valley, with its chateaux, Normandy and Corsica are also favourite destinations. The same applies to Italy, with its coastal resorts mentioned in addition to Tuscany and other inland regions, and something similar applies to Spain, though to a lesser extent, as Madrid and Barcelona seem to absorb a larger share of travellers (for the non-Spanish respondents). Greece looms as a frequent destination, less so Athens despite its history, but Crete and Santorini are favoured for their beaches. Other faraway destinations appear fascinating to our managers for tourist reasons across all four cities: the Seychelles, Maldives, Madagascar and, for some interviewees, Dubai in the UAE. One further point regarding these touristic destination and the kind of travel our respondents were seeking deserves attention. When travelling to faraway exotic destinations, the exclusive resort is usually the most common solution, which guarantees certain types of services, safety and exclusivity.

The relative frequency of short- and long-term trips makes our managers feel that they have reasonable knowledge of at least one foreign city. We asked our managers to tell us which cities they felt they knew well, and on the whole, very few respondents in all four cities told us that they did not know any foreign city well, with most declaring knowing several cities well (Table 3.6).

The city our Milanese respondents are most familiar with by far is Paris, followed by London, with Madrid far behind, New York in the same position, then Barcelona and Munich, while other European cities follow (see Fig. 3.2). This is no great surprise for Milan, as all data about tourism abroad in Italy point towards France (and within France to Paris) as Italians' favourite destination.

The arguments put forward by our Milanese respondents recall Italy's geographical closeness to France but also their cultural similarities (cuisine and fashion), appreciation for 'aesthetic beauty' and architecture, familiarity with the language, etc. At the same time, our managers clearly point out differences in the 'civiness', the feeling of national belonging, the presence of the state and the high-quality services, all aspects considered positive and missing in the Italian context, which



Figure 3.2 Map of well-known cities according to Milanese managers.

make France an excellent destination for our Milanese managers' travels. Some of our respondents also declared having a second home in France, and this being the only country where they might decide to move permanently. The Milanese managers' strong tie to France and Paris in particular will surface again in the analysis of social networks (Chapter 4). There are many different reasons to explain the special attraction Paris and France hold for the Milanese, starting with their historical relations.⁵ Besides the cultural dimension, strong economic interests also link the two countries and cities.

The second important destination for the Milanese managers is London, above all for those working in the marketing, communication and finance sectors. Nevertheless, the role played by London as a hub for the generation of pop and youth culture during the second half of the twentieth century, together with its power of attraction for all kinds of activities related to the English language, makes this city a magnet for significant sectors of Europeans, particularly among the youngest segments of the population.

In the case of Madrilenian managers (Fig. 3.3), the role played by Paris and London as poles of attraction appears to be a little more balanced than in the Milanese case. The relatively weak position of Spain in the international arena during the nineteenth century and large portions of the twentieth century made Britain and France (together with Germany) the reference points in relation to different models for modernisation, as well as sources of ideas, fashions and inspirations for Spanish society. The period when Paris was the cultural capital of Europe in the first half of the twentieth century also witnessed the pilgrimage of Spanish artists and intellectuals to this city in order to interact with the art elite of the time, and to project their personal trajectories.⁶ Economic links followed a similar pattern of influence, and foreign corporations, notably European, settled in Spain in search of cheaper labour and easier access to the Iberian market (particularly after the 1960s), establishing financial and industrial connections between Madrid (as the capital of the state) and the capitals of those countries. In addition to that European connection, the Spanish economy has established very solid links with many Latin American countries in recent years, opening new avenues for the connection of our managers with the main capitals of the countries of the Ibero-American community of nations (notably Brazil, Argentina, Mexico or Chile).

In the case of Lyonnais managers (Fig. 3.4), the more limited number of well-known cities is clearly visible compared with the other maps. London confirms its attractiveness, while Italian and Swiss cities are confirmed as preferred destinations for Lyonnais managers, as already stressed. New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco are the favourite destinations within the USA, while some entire continents are not even mentioned. The Lyon map contrasts, once again, with the one from Paris. Our Parisian respondents (Fig. 3.5) mentioned a larger number of well-known cities, and more dispersed in the different continents, though with a clear European pattern. European cities mentioned by Parisians are the same already mentioned by Madrilenian and Milanese respondents with some prevalence for Rome (in Italy) compared with their Spanish colleagues and for Barcelona (in Spain) compared with their Milanese colleagues. Parisian managers mentioned African-speaking cities more than the others, no doubt as a consequence of French colonial history, and important business and cultural liaisons still existing with those areas.



Figure 3.3 Map of well-known cities according to Madrilenian respondents.



Figure 3.4 Map of well-known cities according to Lyon nais respondents.



Figure 3.5 Map of well-known cities according to Parisian respondents.

Virtual Mobility for 'Digital Nomads'

The managers of our sample clearly belong to a globalised world: their reliance on the internet and the new mobile technologies (smartphones, tablets, notebooks) is unmistakable. Most conduct business via international conference calls or e-mail, all are connected almost all the time, and this is true not only for professional considerations, but for leisure and personal reasons. Although they are not part of the native web generation, they nevertheless belong to the 'virtual world'. As in the study of Larsen *et al.* (2006), who interviewed 24 professionals and consultants in the north-west of England, our interviewees are becoming 'digital nomads', having a very high score in what Urry (2007) defines as the 'virtual and imaginative mobilities'.⁷ Nevertheless, if we take other 'virtual transnational practices' apart from internet and mobile phone consumption, the picture changes quite radically, and significantly reduces the importance of transnational practices in every day life. Within this framework, we considered more traditional media, such as reading foreign newspapers and watching foreign TV channels. Very few of our informants read foreign newspapers (only five in Paris, one in Lyon, 19 in Madrid and five in Milan), and a relatively small number of them watch foreign TV channels, despite the fact that practically all of them have the possibility to do so (with cable connections, or pay TV). On the contrary, national TV and newspapers are widespread means through which our interviewees consume information and culture (all of them regularly read their national and local newspapers). Interviewees seem to understand new technologies as a way to experience transnational practices, while more traditional mass media (TV and newspaper) remain associated with local and national experiences. Some differences, however, stem from the different cities included in our research. The Milanese interviewees have the highest score (almost half of them) for routinely watching foreign TV, while in the other cities, the score drops below 30%. One specification is needed regarding the meaning of foreign TV channels. The empirical material shows that when speaking of foreign TV channels, respondents are speaking about three foreign channels: BBC, CNN and Arte (the French edition of the Franco-German TV channel). BBC and CNN represent a way of being more informed about what is happening in the world, while Arte represents a more cultural choice, almost a way of life. This TV channel is watched by one part of the Milanese respondents who are more oriented towards left-wing political parties, and who declare themselves very attuned to French culture and fashion. To use a definition that has nowadays made its way through day-to-day language, these respondents recall the profile of the Bourgeois Bohemian (*Bobo*) mentioned earlier.

These data offers information regarding two basic arguments. First, not all virtual transnational practices are equally used by our managers: yet the prevalence of new technology practices is clearly evident. Second, these transnational practices are limited to a restricted set of foreign countries, again mainly concentrated in the Western world: the US, UK, Germany, France and Spain.

The issue of which foreign languages our managers can speak is quite an important one, and partly shapes our managers' decisions about whether or not to relocate (and in that case where), their possibilities to travel abroad (and again, where) and, as we have seen, to expose themselves to foreign media. In his recent book, Gerhards (2012) focuses on the knowledge of foreign languages of European residents, introducing the concept of 'transnational linguistic capital'. He emphasises how having transnational linguistic capital at one's disposal (that is to say, being able to speak more than one's native

language) constitutes a new source of social inequality within a developed European society. The possession of this kind of capital is understood as a significant factor conditioning whether a person is capable of participating in the process of Europeanisation. However, not all languages have the same relevance in this respect, and the knowledge of fluent English is, by far, the most important asset to hold. Using the 2005 Eurobarometer Survey, Gerhards (2012) shows that in the EU-27, more than half of Europeans are not able to speak any foreign language. Traditionally, Italy, Spain and France are not among the countries where residents are most fluent in foreign languages. In Spain, 63.9% of the population do not speak a foreign language, in Italy, 63.7% of the population and in France, 55.5%. The large majority of our managers, being in the middle-upper end of the social structure, are relatively proficient in English, with the exception of 10 people in the four cities (three in Madrid, Lyon and Milan, and one in Paris). Nevertheless, even in the case of these groups, many of our informants declare that they know only a little about a foreign language, while not being able to actually speak it. We also observed how these cases included the most immobile segment of our sample.

Some of those managers using foreign languages professionally sometimes declare not being very fluent in those languages. Half of the managers in our sample speak two or more foreign languages. The second foreign language they speak varies: French for the Milanese (to confirm the strong relationship with this country), followed by German and Spanish. The most common foreign language our Madrilénian managers speak is clearly English, followed by French, German, Italian and Portuguese. In some rare cases, Russian and Mandarin Chinese were also mentioned by some more entrepreneurial managers interested in more distant parts of the world.

In several cases, managers regret their lack of foreign-language proficiency. This was the case for a 29-year-old manager in finance, working for a bank, with a degree from Lyon Business School (he had already spent a year in Scotland and 6 months in Norway), yet he complained about the difficulty of learning a new language: 'I would have liked to work in Norway or Sweden. I have looked for jobs in Scandinavia, but I did not speak the language, and we have a bad reputation for learning languages'. Other managers report the constraint they felt when not being able to relocate to countries other than Anglo-Saxon countries because they only know English. This manager living in Milan feels limited in her choice of relocation: 'given the fact that I only speak English, I would only go to Anglo-Saxon countries'.

Not surprisingly, those who can speak several languages travel more, and go on secondments abroad, since language knowledge is both a pre-condition for relocation, and an outcome of a successful experience abroad. Indeed, staying abroad not only increases the capacity to speak a foreign language but also becomes an opportunity for learning another one. Several managers said they had learned a second or third language when abroad. A 50-year-old Milanese manager currently working for a multinational, married with three adolescent children, who met his wife in Paris where both of them were studying French during the 1970s, told us:

My first job was in a Spanish multinational in the food sector. I was employed because I could speak French and Spanish; 30 years ago it was not common to find someone with those skills. During those years, I learned English; you have to speak English; it is the international language. Then, I changed jobs, and I spent two years in Chile. When I was in South America, I also learnt a bit of Portuguese. Then, I came back for family reasons, and then I changed again to other two companies.

Another Milanese manager, working for IBM, could speak English when he was employed in the early 1990s, then was relocated to Paris and learned French, then spent a period in Madrid and learned a bit of Spanish.

**The World Is Becoming Increasingly More Competitive:
Children Must Be Ready**

As we have seen, the narratives of these managers share a common perspective regarding the importance *and* the need for mobility in a world in transformation, though many among them perceive that mobility will affect younger generations even more. This is the reason why those who have children, irrespective of the city in which they live, their degree, their job position or their gender, share the anxiety and perception of the 'need' to prepare their children for this new, more competitive globalised world.

Social reproduction is a major long-term theme of sociology. Changing scales, and the making of elements of European and global societies, not only disturb existing (mostly national) social hierarchies but also blur the rules of the game of social reproduction. Does it matter whether one is part of the French, Italian or Spanish middle or upper-middle classes when it is the European or globalised middle classes who will accumulate wealth, prestige and power in the future? What are the best ways of ensuring that children will not be affected by processes of downward social mobility? Will national middle classes or elites be *de facto* international in many ways? A wealth of research in the sociology of class, education or urban sociology points towards a general concern for education and increased competition reinforced by uncertain rules of social reproduction. As expected, this part of the questionnaire led to great interest among our interviewees. Often, we felt that managers agreed to spend time with us on this questionnaire in order to ask us about the best strategy for their children. More than once, after the interview, we faced questions about 'good universities' outside their home country, or they asked us for tips on how to enter the most competitive higher-education institutions.

Overwhelmingly, the narratives of the managers with children emphasise the importance of early socialisation to foreign languages and foreign cultures.⁸ This narrative stresses that children must learn English very early and well to be competitive, alongside one other language at least (possibly some Mandarin Chinese). The narratives of the managers clearly show that knowledge of foreign languages and cultures is considered a crucial asset for the reproduction of their children's social status, and for them to understand international codes. Some managers are enthusiastic and proactive. A good example of this is a bank manager from Lyon with two children, who spent 12 years in Germany: 'I am ready to go anywhere to get new experiences, to learn, to visit new places, to meet new people. ... and my children were raised with constant concern for foreign countries; they were always raised like that'. This was a successful strategy: 'my daughter has friends from all around the world, and my son is in Santa Clara in Silicon Valley'. A Madrilenian public-sector manager (aged 55, married with children in their twenties) with experience of living in Mexico emphasises how his children grew up to be so much more mature, stimulated and ready to move abroad themselves thanks to their early exposure to the experience of moving:

When my children were little, they already noticed that their classmates were so much more limited than them, their world was so much smaller, and the world is so much larger,

and they noticed that even when they were little ... travelling, getting to know new people, new cultures were so much more enriching for them than a 'traditional family' ... now they want to live and work abroad, they have been in the US many times, have travelled all over the world ... this is something 'contagious'.

The managers who have small children often repeat that they travel around the world with their children (when possible), so that their children can acquire the 'taste' for travelling, understanding other cultures and possibly even living in other countries. A Madrilenian manager (51, married with two children aged 14 and 11), working in an electronics multinational corporation, points out how, when he fills in his annual job performance self-evaluation form, he is asked to express his willingness to work abroad:

If I have to move to a foreign country, I am ready to do it on condition that it is an English-speaking country. That way my children would not suffer so much in their studies, and they would have the issue of learning English solved, and they would not have to suffer as much as I do because of having to learn English.

Many Milanese managers used a similar argument:

our children will have to go abroad, here they have no chance of shaping a career, of doing something. They have to go abroad to study, to go to university, preferably for an MA, and work abroad for a while. In Italy, they have no chance, we are really on the periphery of the world, now.

Here, we can witness the 'potential exit strategy' in the making, these managers are not explicitly exiting, yet they are preparing their children's likely exit. This research should be repeated in 20 years' time to test whether these parents' expectations actually materialise.

Our managers use a relatively wide set of practices to socialise their children to foreign cultures and languages. The first is clearly the choice of school. Children in all four cities learn one or two foreign languages at school, although this does not seem enough for their parents. Foreign languages, and in particular English, are clearly conceived as important 'transnational capital', using the words of Gerhards. Half of our interviewees send their children to private after-school courses, and one-third use the summer to improve their English by sending them to the UK or the US to study in colleges or to stay with families. Interestingly, almost one-third of the parents are thinking of sending their children to study abroad before the end of high school (baccalaureate or A level) or at masters level. When our managers consider their children's future, they imagine it as very mobile, with experiences abroad, and, in many cases, even see them settling abroad. This 43-year-old Milanese manager working in Switzerland and commuting every day, married with two children (aged 14 and 6), puts it like this: 'The situation in Italy is dramatic. Children must be ready to go abroad, you know, to London, the US, but most of all east, to China'.

Given the importance of this issue for parents, they start socialising children to travel abroad and study foreign languages very early on. Summer holidays become a chance to go abroad and visit other countries, even when children are very young; buying cartoons or movies for children in English is quite popular among our interviewees. In some cases, the importance of learning English makes one parent speak English to the children, even though it is not their mother tongue. This is the case of an Italian

couple for whom this was very meaningful. The mother, a manager in a multinational company, explains:

my husband is really worried about English; he wanted the child to start speaking English very early, so that she can have an advantage over others. My husband speaks English very well because he stayed in London for a while and often works in London, so he decided to speak English to the child. It is a bit exaggerated, I find. But we try to give her all the tools, which can be useful; one never knows. It is possible that she will never use it; she will get married and not work, but we have given her all the possibilities; then she can make her own choices.

Others, relatively few actually, have an English or American girl living with them as an au pair, who looks after the children (usually more than one) and only speaks English to them. This is the case in one out of five cases in Paris and slightly less so in the other cities. This is perceived as an easy way to learn and practice the language and makes those parents worry less about the teaching of foreign languages at school (usually in the public ones). Of course, this solution requires a large apartment with a separate room and bathroom for the foreign girl, which is the case for almost half of our managers given the characteristics of their apartments.⁹

However, the vast majority do not have an au pair and consider travelling abroad for leisure, intensive language study or volunteering abroad as entertaining and efficient tools for their children to learn English. The majority of respondents prefer to send their children to private English courses after the normal schooling activities. This is mainly the case for Milan, Madrid and Lyon where one out of two respondents with children makes this choice, as they think that schools do not prepare them enough for foreign-language study, and in any case, one can never study too much when it comes to languages. Managers express vigorous criticism of their respective public education systems, in particular the Spanish and French cases. Now that the whole system has become more competitive, managers' children are still very likely to do well, but not always. In the French case, some managers have harsh words about 'a system organised by teachers for teachers and their children'. One even mentioned the fact that the very high success rate of teachers' children reaching France's best higher-education institutions was the most important inequality scandal. More generally, managers consider that the education system does not prepare their children well for the new globalised world they imagine. They see themselves as the *avant-garde* and the education system lagging far behind. They develop a strong critique of the lack of 'internationalisation' going on in the French education system. In the case of our Madrilenian managers, they send their children to private chartered schools, where they expect their children to interact with children from similar social backgrounds and where they hope the quality of the education they will receive (including foreign languages) will be better than in the public ones.

School choice, as is well known, is one of the most interesting processes where parents seek a competitive edge for their children, and foreign languages play a central role in that process. Some of these managers send their children to private English, French or German schools. This can be considered a sort of partial exit strategy, as the parents declare that they do not trust their national and local educational system much, especially foreign-language teaching. In the Milanese case, as in many other European cities, English schools have spread across the city, offering a valuable alternative to the Italian education system. These schools adopt a standard English educational programme, teaching English rather than Italian literature and history. Moreover, English schools are located in specific areas, not necessarily near our respondents' residences. Most of the managers we interviewed had considered the idea of sending their children

to one of these schools, but finally decided not to prefer after-schooling private courses for three main reasons. First of all, the majority of respondents felt it was essential for their children to learn their national and local history and literature. Second, the school is not in their neighbourhood of residence, and the children would not be able to meet their friends in the local square, park or gym. Third, these schools are relatively expensive. This account from a Milanese mother who clearly shows the importance some parents attach to national and local knowledge (culture, history, etc.) as well as local attachment to space (the neighbourhood):

We were a bit sceptical; going to the English school means learning English very well, but this is all, I mean, content becomes less relevant, not relevant at all even. This is not what we wanted; it is not right. You do not learn anything about Italian history, but you can speak English very well; this is not enough. And then, you know, you miss out on a very important part of our literature, of our culture; think of Dante, for instance. We decided that you can learn English in other ways, going abroad for a year while studying or after; it is a very good way; living in a foreign country is the best way to learn the language.

Other Milanese managers carefully selected the public primary school where bilingual classes existed, mainly located in the city centre. This manager, living in the homogeneous city-centre neighbourhood, says:

we have several good public schools in the neighbourhood; they all have a good reputation, so there was no problem, but the one we selected has a plus; it has some English classes; children learn some subjects directly in English such as sciences, maths, and music. This is very good. We wanted a school nearby because it is easier; also for everyday management, and for friends, children can play with their mates after school because they all live close by, as it is the neighbourhood school.

There are nevertheless some discrepancies between the norm and the practice. Many managers insist on this 'internationalisation' norm for their children; they think about it, but do not always do that much about it. A 43-year-old Lyon engineer, with two children, working for a Belgian firm, also articulates the norm for the children. This is very important, he says, but: '... foreign education for the children; I think about it, but we don't do it'. Another marketing director in Paris makes a similar point: 'The children, we have sent them abroad enough, we did not go abroad for our holidays even if we could have done it'. This 39-year-old woman from Lyon, a manager with some experience in Thailand and a business school degree, who lives in the bourgeois suburb of Lyon (Dardilly), sums up the ambiguities:

Now, (going abroad) that's part of the career; it's really super; it's great to do it. It's compulsory; there's no choice. We went abroad and moved a lot, we like living abroad; everybody goes abroad; my daughter's violin teacher is going abroad; a good friend is opening a hotel in Thailand ... if we had to go again, it would be now, because the children are young, but life is so good in Dardilly.

The managers of this sample adopt transnational practices and act at different scale levels, as they often have the capacities and capital to do so, although we have also emphasised important differences between the different cities. To better visualise these differences, four graphic radars have been drawn, one for each city, indicating the city average for the main transnational practices (Fig. 3.6).

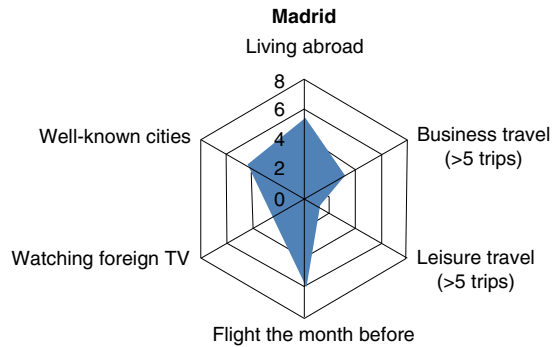
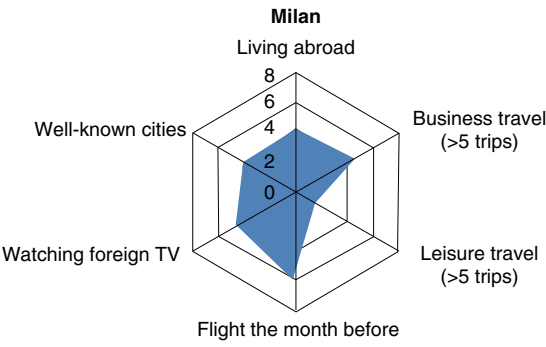
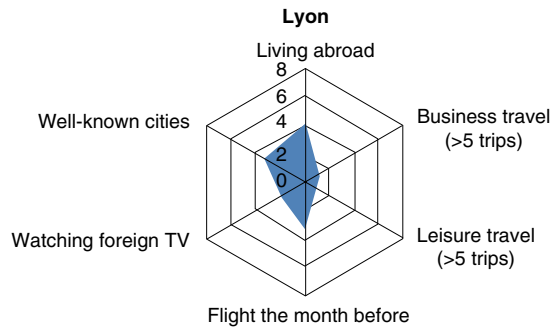
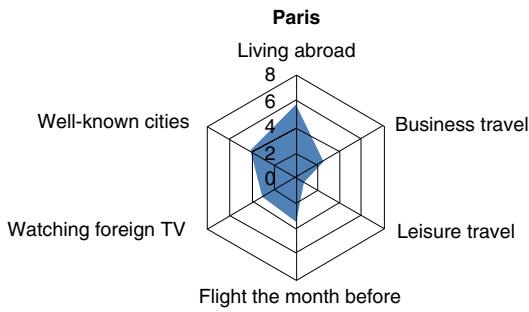


Figure 3.6 Visual representation of managers' transnational practices.

This visual representation synthesises the arguments developed in this chapter: Lyon is the city with the lowest degree of transnationalisation among its managers (smallest radar area). The other three cities show different patterns of practices but have relatively similar levels of transnationalisation. Madrid and Milan present larger areas than Paris and Lyon, showing higher mobility (both for business and leisure) and higher scores in terms of exposure to foreign media and knowledge of foreign cities. On the whole, what seems to emerge is that Milanese and Madrilenian managers are more transnational than their French colleagues, or at least make a more intensive use of this kind of practice. Yet, while, in Madrid, managers seem to actively push towards the adoption of transnational practices and to travel outside their national borders, even without exiting, the Milanese managers seem to be 'forced' to adopt these transnational practices without really being willing to do so. The cases of the French cities represent the extremes of the spectrum of exposure to international economic networks, with Lyon representing the situation of a city that occupies a more peripheral position (and therefore less exposed to the pressures of transnationalisation) and with Paris, somehow paradoxically, occupying a very central position in those networks and, precisely because of that, becoming the magnet that attracts the flows towards its sphere of influence, partly liberating its managers from the obligation of a transnational hyper-mobility that becomes more pressing in the cases of Milan and Madrid.

Throughout the chapter, different dimensions of transnationalism have been reviewed. The first is that of discourses and narratives, the second that of practices and behaviours. It is this second aspect where a process of social differentiation is clearly emerging among our sample of cities. As far as discourses and narratives go, all managers recognise the importance of being mobile, going abroad and learning the international codes. Almost all of our managers, in principle, agree that 'it would have been so nice to have lived abroad for a while', though half of them did not, and the other half are not doing so, although they are travelling. On the whole, there is a segment of our sample that is immobile and seems to lag behind with respect to these transformations and social change; these managers seem to remain stuck and are at the lower end of the income distribution of our interviewees. There is another very mobile segment of managers who, partly forced by their careers (and the personal ambition that goes hand in hand with a successful career), have acquired the abilities and capacities to operate at the transnational level and benefit from this. These are the vanguard of our sample in terms of transnational mobility. Finally, there are all the others, where distinctions of transnationalism are more blurred because there are different combinations of mobility: it can be that they have lived abroad for a while but then became more immobile, or they have not lived abroad, but they travel a lot. What they share is the conviction that their children (if they have any) will surely be more mobile than they have been, and the difference lies in how they are preparing them to deal with this situation. No clear distinction is visible among the transnational practices of managers living in the urban or suburban areas, or between those living in the homogeneous and mixed areas. What seems to be the key to account for these different strategies of transnationalisation is the kind of job our respondents have.

Rootedness as the Other Side of Mobility: Cross-Classifying Transnational Practices and Rootedness

Up to now, attention has been mostly focused on the issue of transnational practices, yet the importance of looking at the mobility and rootedness equilibria has also been emphasised in order to understand both the macro-changes and the strategies at the

micro-level in European contemporary urban societies. In the previous chapter, our managers were depicted as quite territorialised and rooted in their local context: they use their local services, and they benefit from what the neighbourhood and the city have to offer, although this rootedness is rather selective, and family plays a crucial role in shaping it. Throughout the present chapter, managers have been proved to be rather mobile, with their professional careers providing them with major opportunities (or constraints) to be mobile, yet again family (partner and children) play a crucial role in preventing or fostering these mobility patterns. How do these two factors (mobility and rootedness) interact and combine with each other?

In order to analyse the interaction of these factors, we have systematised the information collected in the interviewees and two indexes have been constructed: one for transnationalism and another for rootedness.¹⁰ The index of transnationalism aims at capturing the extent to which managers are mobile, given their travelling practices. The index is constructed using the following items: having lived abroad for longer than 6 months, the availability to move, the number of business and leisure trips, the numbers of cities that managers declare to know well, the number of foreign languages they can speak fluently, having watched foreign TV channels. This index can range from 0 to 10. It reflects and summarises previous results: none of our informants obtained the highest score (10), while the average score is of 4.8, and differences between the cities are rather low. Men scored higher than women; managers working in large companies have higher scores than those working for SMEs, and young managers score higher than older ones. The least transnational mobile group can be seen in Lyon (with an average score of 4): here, managers travel less, but this is also the largest group of managers expressing their availability, even their willingness, to move. The Spanish managers obtained the highest average score (5.5), followed by the Milanese (4.6) and Parisian managers (4.7).

The index of rootedness refers to the extent to which our managers are involved in, and use, their neighbourhood and city. This index is based on the following items: the place of birth of respondents, the length of residence in the city and in the neighbourhood, and the use of public services. Also, in this case, the index can range from 0 to 10. The average score is 6.3, higher than the score for the transnationalism index, with differences in the four cities more marked: Milan has the highest average score (7), followed by Madrid (6.8), then Paris (5.8) and Lyon (5.3). The managers interviewed in the two south Mediterranean cities appear as the more highly rooted; this is also due to the fact that they are more likely to be born in the same city, while French respondents (mainly in Paris) come from other regions of France compared with the Parisian metropolitan area. No particular differences emerge in relation to gender, or age, even in relation to managers living in suburban or in the city centre.

It is interesting now to cross the two indexes. Given the fact that our qualitative findings pointed towards three profiles of respondents in relation to transnationalism, we have decided to identify three categories: low, medium and high to best fit our respondents' characteristics.¹¹ Table 3.7 shows the percentage of respondents in each combination of cells for the four cities; for instance, there is no Parisian manager with a low degree of transnationalism and a low degree of rootedness. The marginal frequencies show the distribution of the degree of transnationalism and rootedness in the cities; for instance, the 23.4% of the Parisian managers have a low degree of transnationalism, 63.9% a medium degree of transnationalism and 12.7% a high degree of transnationalism, while the 14.9% of Parisian respondents have a low degree of rootedness and so on.

The reading of this table shows that in all four cities, a minority of respondents are poorly rooted, and the majority of the managers are rather well rooted or even very well rooted in the urban dimension. The same applies to the transnational dimension; the large majority of respondents have a medium or high degree of transnationalism, though significant differences appear between the cities. On the whole, roughly 30% of the sample score low on transnationalism, and about 15% score low on rootedness. Once again, the contrast between Paris and Lyon appears to be quite striking. While, in Paris, we do not find anyone combining low rootedness and low transnationalism, we find the highest percentage of respondents with this combination (8%) in Lyon. The most common combination in the Parisian case is a medium level of rootedness and of transnationalism, while in the case of Lyon, the most common combination is a high level of local rootedness combined with a medium level of transnationalism, pointing again to the lack of transnationalism. The relative majority of our managers in Madrid and Milan are placed in the combination of medium rootedness and transnationalism, albeit with considerably higher ratios (roughly a quarter of the sample in each of those two cities) than in Lyon (Table 3.7).

If the de-territorialisation hypothesis were true, the last cell of the first column (low rootedness and high transnationalism) should be the one with the highest values: this is never the case. Madrid appears as the city with the relatively higher percentage in this cell, with only 4.9% of respondents. On the contrary, the highest presence of managers with strong rootedness and low level of transnationalism can be found in Milan (20.2% of the sample, compared with around 16% in Madrid and Lyon, and some 14% in Paris). The lowest levels of both transnationalism and rootedness can be seen in Paris and Madrid, the two city capitals, while the combination of high transnationalism and low rootedness ranges from around 5% in the case of Madrid, to zero in the case of

Table 3.7 Respondents positions on transnationalism and rootedness indexes by city (%)

City	Transnational index	Rootedness index			
		Low	Medium	High	Total
Paris	Low	0	8.5	14.9	23.4
	Medium	12.8	29.8	21.3	63.9
	High	2.1	8.5	2.1	12.7
	Total	14.9	46.8	38.3	100
Lyon	Low	8	13.8	16.1	38.7
	Medium	13.8	17.2	18.4	49.4
	High	3.4	6.9	2.3	12.6
	Total	25.2	37.9	36.8	100
Madrid	Low	2	2.9	16.7	21.6
	Medium	8.8	13.7	24.5	47
	High	4.9	8.8	17.6	31.3
	Total	15.7	25.4	58.8	100
Milan	Low	3.4	12.4	20.2	36
	Medium	1.1	21.3	24.7	47.1
	High	0	10.1	6.7	16.8
	Total	4.5	43.8	51.6	100

Milan. Finally, we can find the highest presence of managers with high levels of both transnationalism and rootedness in Madrid (some 17% of the sample, while they constitute only 2% of our French managers and around 7% of our Milanese informants). By and large, Table 3.7 shows that our managers are more distributed towards the medium-high degree of rootedness, and they cluster around the medium levels of both indexes.

Conclusions: Transnationalisation Under Shelter?

According to our empirical evidence, the dualism between a global elite and local people is not of great help in understanding the changes experienced by contemporary European societies. More fruitful is the idea of a gradual difference in the population (Mau, 2010a), and even in the higher segment of the middle classes, with regard to these processes, given that most people are involved, in one way or another, in transnational contexts, and live according to spatially bounded activities.

Managers in our sample are rather differentiated in terms of transnational experiences and practices. About a third are not very mobile, and rather local, but what is interesting is that they share the same narratives as the mobile respondents about the importance of mobility, and they feel they should be mobile. One way to solve this paradox is to stress the importance of 'immobile' transnationalisation, the high level of short trips, and transnational interactions in the city or at work. One 51-year-old manager from a Lyon consulting firm is particularly clear when he says: '... we are a little bit internationalised but sheltered ... I would like to feel European ... we should go abroad, but we are so comfortable here ... and we enjoy visiting Italy and Switzerland'. This group of managers is primarily nested in its local- and national-scale level, anchored to habits and traditions, although the possibilities that mobility can offer are understood. In this case, discourses become stronger than practices.

At the other extreme in the sample, we find a group of fairly mobile managers, somewhat globe-trotting, with a strong taste for world travel. Mobility is part of their lifestyle, and they have learned to appreciate its advantages and difficulties. They are the ones who are able to operate at different scale levels, as they criss-cross the globe, but they continue to feel part of their local and national contexts, and use them extensively if they think they can benefit and advance their interests. They cannot be described as de-nationalised, or de-territorialised, even though they are highly mobile. They are not exiting from their national and/or local societies; on the contrary, they have often moved to speed up their career or hold on to their job.

Finally, there is a third and larger group that combines some elements of transnationalism and many elements of rootedness. These managers adopt some transnational practices, are somewhat mobile, and it is mainly business that makes them mobile. In this sense, there is some tension between the desire to be more mobile and the necessity of being so to forge a career or, simply, to tow the line. These managers are perfectly aware of the European and global changes Western European societies are undergoing, and they are ready to be mobile, if necessary; nonetheless their particular focus is preparing their children to be mobile because they believe mobility will be their children's life, not so much theirs. Nowadays, these managers are rather well rooted in their local and national space, and they have created their relatively small world with their family and friends, their shops and their facilities around them, possibly within a few kilometres of their flat, or in another part of the city where necessary

(for instance, for their children's piano lessons). In this case, local and national structures still represent the largest inputs in their lives.

On the whole, the norm associated with globalisation or Europeanisation is very strong for our managers but does not always influence social practices in the same way or with the same intensity, although it overwhelmingly does so for their children. We have seen that our managers are rather worried about their children's future and will go to great lengths to prepare them in various ways to be ready to be mobile.

These findings question some taken-for-granted ideas about mobilities among Europe's upper-middle classes. Transnational mobility cannot be seen as a simple cleavage between 'middle-class' and 'lower-class' groups of employees, or between an 'elite' and the 'people', between the less and more mobile. There are clear dividing lines within the population we interviewed in terms of practices, but most of all the structuring cleavage within our group of managers and between our managers and the lower classes is the education of children and the way they try to prepare them for their future mobility.

Notes

- 1 As a reminder, our sample is not composed of the small one-tenth of the world's population circulating above the threshold where one leads a life of 'moral detachment' (cf. Tomlinson, 1999). The great majority of our managers earn between €3000 and €6000 per month. They belong to the

increasing numbers of individuals who are carving out an intermediate socio-economic space between the arenas dominated by the top corporate and economic policy elites and the vast and rather powerless majority, on whom very little research has been carried out. Unlike the Transnational Capitalist Class, most individuals lack the power to shape global economic life or influence governments and the media, though contributing to the understanding of change in the every day world

(Kennedy, 2007).

- 2 Thanks to Eloi Laurent (Sciences Po) for this Bruce Springsteen comment.
- 3 In Italy, young women in high positions (managers in the 15–44 age range) in the private sector constitute 25% of managers. In the 45–65 age range, that share drops to 15%. If we consider women in the Corporate Administrative Boards, they make up less than 7% of the total, and most of these women are linked to the company mainly through familial relations (Bianco, 2011). However, the glass ceiling is a classic finding of research on women's careers; see Buscatto and Marry (2009) for details on the French case.
- 4 Of course, one must keep in mind the limits of our sample: we have not interviewed those who have left and did not return; we only know that they represent a rather small part of the population altogether.
- 5 The north of Italy and Milan in particular were dominated by the French during different periods in history, and in particular in the nineteenth century. Napoleon contributed to the design of some parts of the city and some of its most important infrastructures, besides the reorganisation of the civic code. Despite the fact that it was under foreign domination, the Milanese elite looked to Paris and France for the liberation of their territory from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the early decades of the twentieth century, Paris was the main pole of attraction for Milanese artists and intellectuals, and in more recent times, between the 1960s and 1980s, it was the reference point for a specific fragment of the intellectual left-wing elite.
- 6 Those flows were considerably aggravated with the forced exile of the cultural and intellectual elite of Spain owing to the Civil War (1936–1939), as many left Spain and crossed French territory before heading to other countries (often in Latin America).

- 7 Urry identifies five interdependent mobilities: (1) physical travel of people for work, leisure, family life, migration and escape; (2) physical movement of objects; (3) imaginative travel through images and memories seen on TV, films and computers; (4) virtual travel on the internet; (5) communicative travel by person-to-person messages via e-mail, sms, text, etc.
- 8 The share of managers with children in our sample is 63%.
- 9 More than half of managers live in flats smaller than 140 m².
- 10 For additional information on how the indexes were built, see the Methodological Appendix.
- 11 The index measures how our respondents combine strategies across the different dimensions; it has no intention of being a statistical measure given the nature of our sample. The low category ranges from 0 to 3, the medium category ranges from more than 3 to 6, and the high category ranges from more than 6 to 10.

Managers' Social Networks: Whatever the Scale, Whatever the City, 'Birds of a Feather Flock Together'

The sociology of globalisation, cosmopolitanism or, on a different scale, the sociology of Europe all emphasise mobility and the intricacy of vertical and horizontal social relations and networks. Two points are particularly salient in this literature. First, sociologists see globalisation processes and increased geographical mobility as major drivers of changing social relations. Giddens (1994), in particular, a pioneering author who analysed globalisation processes, suggested that social relations have become *disembedded* from time and space, or lifted out from local involvements and rearticulated across indefinite tracts of time and space. Social relations are supposed first to be no longer based on a physical place, because people are always on the move (Beck, 1999) and, second, to be more short-lived. In their research on *Mobile Lives*, Elliott and Urry (2010) show that for global trotters, even their conjugal relations have become detached from physical place, with spouses living in different cities and countries, maintaining relations through virtual means (mobile phones, internet, Skype). From a more postmodern perspective, Bauman writes that in the globalised era, life strategies do not support the creation of long-term relations; instead social relations are increasingly fragmented, quick and temporary (Bauman, 1998). It follows that those changes prevent the formation of the kind of social capital Coleman (1990) defines as obligations and expectations, based on reciprocity and trust. Indeed, this form of social capital goes hand in hand with long-lasting relations and a positive climate of cooperation. Instead, in the globalised era, the dominant climate seems to be one of competition, fragmentation and disposable relationships. This appears as the flip side of the global era, although according to some of these authors,¹ there is also a 'positive' side to the coin, namely, the increase in the size of social networks (i.e. the number of people one meets during one's life), the number of different circles to which one has access, and their differentiation, as well as the possibility of being connected to much wider transnational networks.

Beyond this form of disembeddedness, the literature has emphasised transnationalism (i.e. forms of circular and temporary mobility, such as alternating residency in two countries; Ley, 2009). Whatever their social status, irregular immigrants and skilled entrepreneurs alike tend to maintain their social relations at their point of departure and arrival, strategies facilitated by the availability of technologies. The rise of transnationalism goes hand in hand with the increase in cross-border networks, exchange, flux and circulation.

These transformations, according to these authors, are part of the broader, long-term, structural process of individualisation that is freeing individuals from traditional social belongings and their constraints. The change in social relations and their fragmentation (in some cases, also deterioration) are not a novelty in the sociological debate. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, scholars were dealing with the transformations of social relations and networks when discussing the shift from the community-based model to the society-based model, which assumed its most evident form in the city.

Several founding fathers of sociology dealt with the transformation of social relations in cities, and their different features in the modern age. For a long period, social relations were taken for granted. In the modern industrialised societies, individuals were alone, the family was nuclear, isolated from the rest of the kinship network, and social relations were superficial and elusive, less relevant in structuring life patterns.² A classic feature of the sociological literature opposed the family, symbol of traditional social structures, to the city as the crucible for modernisation and individualisation. For Simmel, the large metropolis allows individuals to escape inherited social relations and to develop a variety of experiences and social networks. Sociologists from Chicago conceptualised the metropolis as a place where more extensive family relations are dissolved. As De Singly and Giraud (2012) suggested, historians such as Ariès or sociologists such as Sennett (1970) developed a 'family against the city' thesis. Families were supposed to develop dense interactions, to privatise social relations and to avoid public space and the interactions with strangers in the city. The rise of middle-class suburbs in the US was perceived as an attempt to protect middle-class family life from the dangers of the city. In the few studies where the importance of informal relations and kinship was pointed out, it was often to show the backwardness of those social contexts with respect to the modern and industrialised 'world' (Banfield, 1958). Community studies (Young and Willmott, 1957), or more ethnological urban research (Hannerz, 1980), emphasised the role of family networks in neighbourhoods or cities.

In the 1970s, the massive transformation associated with the arrival of women on the labour market, the sexual revolution and the rise of divorce and children born outside marriage, constituted an opportunity for sociologists to stress the robustness of family support and networks in this new familial world. The importance of social relations and networks became central again in social science debates through the assertion of the embeddedness and social capital concept in the 1980s (Bourdieu, 1980; Granovetter, 1985; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000). Research was conducted to show the strength of familial networks within cities (Bonvalet, 2003), particularly among ethnic communities and groups of immigrant origin, but less frequently among the majority population.

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the social networks, resources and social capital of the managers of our sample. Dealing with social networks constitutes a fruitful way to examine the mix of transnationalism and rootedness, as well as to give

further substance to the 'partial exit' hypothesis. If this hypothesis were to be backed by evidence, managers should be part of transnational networks, with no or very little engagement in local and national associations, few local ties and deployment of very selective and utilitarian relations with their local social and physical environments.

A key trait of this chapter is the use of some methods based on the analysis of social networks for understanding the sociability sphere of respondents. Different dimensions were included in the questionnaire, and respondents were asked to describe the composition of their household, and the main characteristics of their members, as well as their primary kinship network (that is, the number of siblings and the main socio-economic characteristics of those relatives).³

Three measures of social capital were reconstructed: (1) the number of positions accessible by the respondents, which can be considered a proxy of the size of their social networks; (2) the range of the network (the difference between the highest and lowest score of the hierarchical positions, a proxy of the variation in the hierarchical positions, and therefore in the resources available); and (3) the capacity of the social network: the highest position the respondents can reach, which can be considered a proxy of 'social affluence.'

The resource generator technique was also used to grasp the social capital that respondents can rely upon (Van der Gaag and Snijders, 2004). A set of situations were identified that ranged from repairing small objects to looking after children, along with borrowing money or a second holiday home.⁴ Combining these different sources of information has the advantage of depicting the multiplexity of relations (that is when the same person is mentioned more than once) and the different social circles in which the respondent is embedded, and last but not least enables us to grasp not only the strong ties but also the weak ties. In addition to analysing the importance of strong or weak ties, we are also interested in the different spatial and social contexts in which those relations were created and maintained. The data collected allow us to explore the rootedness of respondents in their local, national or international contexts, and provide some hints about whether the kinship and friendship practices have become disembedded from time and space.

Nuancing previous findings in the articulation of transnationalisation and rootedness, it seems that the more mobile, the more transnational the social networks. And yet, this does not make them necessarily less rooted in their local context (they do not have fewer long-lasting relations or friends living in the same neighbourhood; nor are they less involved in associations). Pooling this information gives a clearer picture of our respondents' strategies and their rootedness or transnationalism. The strength of family networks and interactions complements the picture of managers combining autonomy, different forms of transnationalisation and deep embeddedness within their networks of families and friends.

Managers' Friends: Spatially Dispersed but Intensely Socially Homogeneous

Friends are often considered to be 'freely' chosen in contemporary societies, more than neighbours or siblings, for instance. Yet, friendship relations are developed and sustained within the wider framework of people's lives. The choices people make are constrained by aspects of social organisation and social structure. For example, a person's gender, class, work and familial position all have a strong impact on her sociable

relationships. Together, all these elements form the immediate social environment within which each individual makes her choices (Pahl, 1988). Personal relationships are not developed and sustained in a social or economic vacuum: the places where relations are established, choices about who friends are, which relations are maintained during the life course and what kinds of things friends do together are all framed in a wider contextual background. The interplay of these factors provides additional information about the importance of transnational practices and/or rootedness. Nevertheless, attention should be paid to the fact that friendship is a dynamic concept, and that what our respondents express depicts their relations at a certain moment in time (and those relationships may very well change over time). The collected information covers a relatively long time span, suggesting that friendship relations, at least for our respondents, are relatively stable and considerably less susceptible to fluctuations than the 'globalised world' literature would make us believe.

In this chapter, friendship is analysed along three dimensions: (1) homophily (the tendency of individuals with similar socio-economic background to establish friendships between them); (2) social closure (analysing to what extent networks of friends are interconnected); and (3) the duration of the relation, frequency of contacts and the 'spatial' dimension (the different social circles where relations have been formed). Places where friends met, and where they live, reveal key information about the nature and characteristics of informants' social networks.⁵

Managers' best friends? More or less the same people in long-lasting relations

The literature on social networks has clearly highlighted that homophily is common to all social networks (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954; Fischer, 1982; Lin, 2001) and that this feature is even more accentuated for people of higher status (Kadushin, 1995). Bourdieu, in particular, saw friendship (and social capital, more generally) as a means of reproducing and maintaining hierarchical positions within the social structure (Bourdieu, 1980).

Unsurprisingly, the managers of this sample confirm that their friends are very similar to themselves in terms of education, age, gender and marital status. A large majority of respondents described their friends as people with very similar socio-demographic characteristics to their own. In Milan, the pattern of homophily is high as far as education is concerned, while more variation exists in relation to professions. About four out of five of the friends mentioned by the interviewees have a university degree, mostly of the same kind as the respondents themselves. The spectrum of professions among declared best friends is somehow more diverse but quite predictable within the Italian context: many friends are professionals working on their own, or within their own company, although they share the characteristic of working in the tertiary and non-manual sectors. Homophily is even higher in Madrid than in Milan, since nine out of ten friends mentioned have similar university degrees, a majority of them in the same field as the interviewees. The range of professions is also quite varied and the absolute dominance of service sector employments also prevails. The case of Paris appears to be very similar to that mentioned for Madrid, since most friends come from the '*Grandes Ecoles*,' while this is less the case for Lyon's respondents where the effect of those elitist higher-education institutions is weaker. Yet, in Lyon, friends also share a common university pattern and similar positions within the labour market. Thus, and quite overwhelmingly, four out of five friends mentioned during the interviews have social positions and

educational backgrounds comparable with those of our informants. Also, the service sector appears as the main source of employment for the friends of these managers.

To better understand the features of the social network in terms of homophily, as well as of accessible social capital, we enriched the information on the three friends mentioned by the informants using the position generator technique.⁶ According to these data, the majority of respondents have easy access to a large number of high social positions, whereas they have more limited access to lower socio-economic positions (and this applies to both men and women). The highest structural position (lawyer) is easily accessible by more than 60% of our managers in all cities. The most accessible position is the professional engineer in all four cities, and this is not surprising given the fact that many interviewees are engineers themselves. The least reachable positions, as one might expect, include the farmer and the truck driver, given the fact that these are few in number, and our sample is composed of urban managers.⁷ Several differences exist between the four cities: in Paris and Madrid, the lawyer is reachable in 80% of cases, while this attainability decreases in the other two cities. This can be related to the relatively higher socio-economic status of the respondents in the capital cities, as seen in the presentation of the sample (see section 'Who Are These European Managers?' in Chapter 1). The higher the respondents' status, the wider the range of resources they can access at all hierarchical levels. The reverse does not apply. Respondents with restricted access to higher positions do not have wider access to lower positions. Indeed, in all four cities, the reachability of lower positions (mechanic, farmer, craftsman) is relatively similar (Table 4.1).

What is interesting is that our respondents in all cities mentioned friends in higher positions, while they place those in lower positions mainly among their acquaintances or family members, somehow indicating that the latter are not really part of their intimate, acquired and selective social network. Several respondents declared that they know the mechanic because they always contact this person when their car needs repairing, yet also specify that this person is not part of their social circle. If we do not consider inherited ties, the presence of the lower positions is indeed more occasional, and the duration of the relation slightly shorter, though within a framework of long-lasting relations (15 years on average).

As our three countries are characterised by an important Catholic legacy, there is an interesting difference worth mentioning regarding the religious positions in relation to whether respondents live in the city or the suburbs. In the latter case, managers have easier access to the lowest religious position (priest), while the reverse is true for the higher religious position. The city centre is the location of power in European cities, including religious power, so the most likely managers to know the bishop live in this type of urban environment. This also seems to indicate that outside the city centre, our respondents tend to be more conservative and religiously oriented. Beyond religion, managers living within the city tend to have a relatively larger social network, and even more access to positions similar to their own or higher (Lin, 2001).

One key dimension of social capital is the capacity to bridge dimensions in the economic and social spheres (and at different scale levels). In other words, managers with many resources should be able to have social relations in different sectors and countries, and this increases their social status. In order to gain a sense of this bridging capacity, answers were differentiated in the questionnaire between social networks within the administration, entrepreneurial, cultural and political domains. In the four cities, managers are relatively well connected to high structural positions in all sectors,

Table 4.1 Proportion of managers in each city who know a person of the occupation listed, and the relation between them

	Paris		Lyon		Madrid		Milan	
	Percentage of cases	Type of relation (%) ^a	Percentage of cases	Type of relation	Percentage of cases	Type of relation	Percentage of cases	Type of relation
Lawyer	79 ^b	Friend (41)	67	Friend (59)	95	Friend (62)	63	Friend (51)
Policeman	19	Acquaintance (56)	40	Friend (35)	53	Acquaintance (53)	27	Friend (48)
Entrepreneur	76	Friend (68)	90	Friend (52)	88	Friend (43)	80	Friend (47)
Unskilled blue-collar worker	30	Friend (53)	43	Acquaintance (37)	60	Acquaintance (61)	41	Acquaintance (77)
University Professor	77	Friend (56)	50	Friend (39)	90	Friend (55)	75	Friend (44)
Engineer (professional)	85	Friend (68)	89	Friend (64)	94	Friend (63)	84	Friend (62)
Secondary-school teacher	87	Friend (40)	68	Friend (47)	70	Friend (48)	57	Friend (44)
Technical skilled employee	51	Friend (38)	61	Friend (49)	75	Friend (39)	63	Friend (33)
Head of administrative bureau	76	Friend (49)	25	Friend (35)	86	Friend (52)	26	Friend (48)
Politician	32	Acquaintance (53)	37	Acquaintance (42)	53	Acquaintance (44)	27	Acquaintance (42)
Truck driver	6	Acquaintance (67)	25	Friend (47)	25	Acquaintance (38)	25	Acquaintance (42)
Bishop	8	Family (67)	7	Acquaintance (75)	0		12	Acquaintance (62)
Priest	34	Friend (47)	40	Acquaintance (56)	64	Friend (41)	34	Acquaintance (69)
Mechanic	19	Acquaintance (63)	42	Acquaintance (66)	46	Acquaintance (61)	0	Acquaintance (62)
Farmer	17	Family (44)	17	Family (50)	14	Acquaintance (50)	0	0
Craftsman	42	Acquaintance (45)	60	Friend (43)	NA		33	Acquaintance (54)

^aCategories were: family, friends, neighbours, co-worker and acquaintance.

^bThis information means that 79% of the respondents know a lawyer.

^cThis information means that 41% of the respondents who know a lawyer mentioned a friend.

and this occurs not through weak ties but through strong friendship ties. The exception to this rule is the administrative and political positions, where the managers of the sample do not seem to have such easy access. Again, the difference between cities in this respect is interesting. In Lyon, only 27% of managers declared knowing someone in the high administrative sphere, and Milan also lags behind in the political arena. By contrast, in Madrid and Paris, this percentage increases to about half our sample. The status of capitals was clearly visible, with respondents better linked to the political and administrative spheres. Yet, even in the two capital cities, it is not via strong ties or friends that respondents access the political sphere, but mainly through acquaintances. What clearly emerges is that these managers are well integrated in the market sphere, having strong relations with professionals and entrepreneurs, and they are well connected to the world of education but much less integrated in the administrative and political spheres, which they can enter but only through weak ties. Managers have access to the lower structural positions in the different spheres mainly through acquaintances, that is weak ties or through family members (not cohabiting). This is therefore a case of strong ties with high-status social relations, and rather close networks. The analysis of the relations' duration, mentioned via the position generator technique, tells a story of long-lasting relations for all respondents in the four cities.

At this point, it becomes interesting to compare the three profiles of respondents identified in the previous chapter (high, medium and low transnationalism), to see whether there are important differences in terms of access to social positions, type of social relations and duration of their relationships. According to the literature on globalisation, mobility and disembeddedness, the high transnational profile should have a more diversified network, therefore having access to a wider range of positions, with acquaintances (weak ties) mentioned more often, and with more recent relationships compared with the other profiles, in particular the low transnationals. In fact, this is not at all the case for the respondents in the four cities included in this study. Respondents in the high transnational profile score exactly the same as the other two profiles in terms of access to the higher and lower social positions.⁸

As far as the type of relationships they mention, no difference emerges among the three profiles either. The more transnational managers do not mention acquaintances more often than the other profiles; rather the opposite, in fact. No difference appears even as far as the duration of the relation, reinforcing the findings that go against the abstraction from time and space of the more mobile respondents. Despite the fact that they are quite mobile in their territory, and that they travel a lot, the relationships they mention are not at all of the 'farewell type'; on the contrary, they are long-lasting, revealing the importance of stability and continuity in their lives.

Long-lasting friendships formed at school, university and work

Contrasting these findings with the place where relationships were formed provides useful insights. In Paris, managers overwhelmingly met their best friends while they were students (one out of three met this way). As previously mentioned, Paris is an urban escalator region where young people from all over the country come to study and combine social and spatial mobility. Top Paris universities and the '*Grandes Ecoles*,' the elitist part of the higher-education system, are overwhelmingly attracting students from the same social background and play a decisive role in the socialising process and the making of best friends for those managers. In the other three cities, the most cited

place for forming friendship is school (secondary and primary), suggesting relationships closely tied to their territory (as mentioned in Chapter 2 and in previous sections). In Milan, the second most cited source for creating friendship is work: 20% of friends meet through work (in Paris, it is less than 10%).

Transnationalism could be related to clear differences in terms of the place where relations are formed. Indeed, an analysis of the three profiles of managers in relation to transnationalism shows an interesting pattern. Within the more transnational profile, most managers' friends were met during primary or secondary school. This goes against the disembeddedness thesis as well. The more transnational managers have not lost their local ties or long-term friends. They may have been mobile, but they do keep their roots (such as old school friends). In contrast with other groups, however, they do not seem to keep their long-lasting friends from work. The results are similar for the less transnational managers: school is the main place to meet best friends, immediately followed by university and work. These findings show that in all four cities, educational and professional environments play a major role in the formation of friendships, though the analysis of the interviewees reveals that respondents do not mention a friend for each of these spaces, in a cumulative way. Instead, they tend to cluster friends, mentioning three friends coming from the same space. Cultural or political associations and neighbourhoods are more rarely mentioned as ways to form friendship, which comes as little surprise, since the level of direct involvement in formal associations is rather limited for the managers of our sample.

The space and place of friendship formation also underline the chronological dimension. Given the fact that many relationships were formed at primary or secondary school, it is not surprising to find the importance of long-lasting friendly relations. Indeed, best friends are not changed every month. Within our sample, and on average, relationships last about 20 years or more in all four cities. Managers in Milan once again appear as the extreme 'rootedness' case: they have the highest percentage of friendships lasting more than 20 years (52%) in contrast with Madrid (the lowest at 34%). Best friends are serious matters: within the sample, there is no trace of friendship (best friends) lasting less than 4 years. But this long-term dimension of social relations is not limited to strong ties such as best friends. When asked about people they know in different spheres (weak ties), our managers mention long-lasting acquaintances again (15 years on average).

This is a significant finding emanating from the interviews: managers are not free-floating mobile actors in a liquid world. They rely upon strong, long-lasting social relations with best friends and/or acquaintances. Some managers may work abroad during the week but return for the weekend to spend time with family and friends. Thus, any analysis stressing the coming age of brief relationships, or 'more beginnings and farewells' in friendship in our present times may be seriously overstretched. Respondents show an extremely high attachment to their friendships. This is not to say that there are no weak ties or short-term relationships in their networks but to stress that, as far as these results indicate, and besides the short and fragile ties that are not mentioned, our respondents rely on a strong networks of friendship.

This is further confirmed by the frequency of contacts: respondents, in all cities, have a dense social life, and they regularly see their friends. In Madrid and Milan, more than half of the respondents have contacts with their best friends on a weekly basis, while in Lyon and Paris, this applies to 20% of them. Most of them have some contact with their friends once a month. Compared with European data on the frequency

of contacts with friends, our sample appears to be above average. EC data show that 39.4% of Italians have contacts with friends on a weekly basis, and the same applies to 34.2% of Spaniards and 23.7% of French people (Atkinson and Marlier, 2010). The dense social life of these managers contrasts with the findings of Savage *et al.* (2005), referring to diverse middle-class groups in Manchester. These authors report that their respondents have little contact with their best friends and share few regular activities with them, as they are likely to live in other cities. The relations our managers have with their friends are often maintained through virtual means (internet, email, phone), yet the relationship does not exist on a virtual basis, since they also meet quite regularly, indicating not an occasional interaction but rather an ongoing and persistent co-presence. Virtual channels appear as an easy way to maintain, and even increase, the frequency of contact with the individuals they see regularly.

Dense social life and supporting relations

The fact that respondents have a wider and more intense social life than the rest of their co-nationals could be a random effect, given that our sample is not statistically representative. Nevertheless, the fact that this difference is systematic across the four cities suggests that there could be something in it. Creating and maintaining social relationships requires sustained effort, an 'investment' in terms of resources, at both the economic and social level. It requires time, social and cognitive skills, and money to socialise (restaurants, cinema, theatre and holidays are all relatively expensive activities), host dinner parties and exchange gifts and favours. The literature on poverty and social exclusion illuminates this point by contrast with our relatively affluent managers. This literature focuses on the mechanisms at work in friendship relations, and the significance of the need for these resources in maintaining social relations, stressing how people in need do not have an intense social life, rich social capital or many friends to rely upon (Castel, 1991; Negri and Saraceno, 2000; Paugam, 2000). One reason often used to explain these people's poor social networks is their difficulties in meeting the material obligations that friendship and kinship imply: maintaining and reproducing mechanisms of reciprocity and giving back what they have received. In the long run, this undermines the symmetry of social relations, ending in a breakdown, or simply in not activating relations so as to prevent any obligation (Di Nicola, 1986; Andreotti, 2006). This contributes to excluding vulnerable groups even further from the social support system, causing increasing isolation and social exclusion. In this sense, as is well known, social capital, here interpreted as the social relations activated to reach an aim, amplifies already-existing (economic and social) inequalities.

Managers are in a completely different situation from those disfranchised groups. The issue of not being able to pay back is not at stake, relations are relatively symmetrical, and the contents of the exchange can be of high value, even in economic terms. Our managers can profit from the resources of their support networks, taking advantage of them, such as borrowing a second home for their holidays in 30% of cases. The resource generator technique gives us further information on the material, economic and information exchange of our respondents with the members of their network.⁹

The great majority of respondents can mobilise someone to support them in one of the identified set of situations (83.8%), and more than half in at least two such situations. The result is consistent with the relatively dense social life we described in earlier chapters: informants are well established in dense social networks, and their relations

can easily turn into social-support relations. This is an interesting finding, given the fact that our respondents could buy more or less what they need through the market, not needing to rely on friends or relatives for a service. Yet, not all items are accessed by 50% of the respondents or more, and there is clear variability in the popularity of the items. The most popular items include asking a favour of someone to help with the shopping when respondents are ill: all respondents declare that it is their partner or parents when the partner is absent who are in charge of this. Some male interviewees in their mid-fifties went further telling us that it is always their partner (female) who did the shopping for them, stressing the persistent gender division of tasks and responsibilities within the household. The least popular item refers to support in administrative matters: few respondents can rely upon someone who can help them to speed up a bureaucratic procedure or to support them in solving an administrative problem.¹⁰ The respondents' difficulty in accessing the administrative/bureaucratic sphere is consistent with the position generator results previously analysed. It may be possible that respondents disguise themselves under a 'social desirability' or 'politically correct' response, telling us that they do not ask for these kinds of favours, not knowing anyone who can help them in such a situation, although there are different pieces of information that convey this outcome: in the resource and position generator results, and in the analysis of the sectors where their best friends work, high public administration and politics are almost never mentioned. Respondents seem to genuinely lack connections in that particular sphere.

Differences exist between the four cities. Somehow counterintuitively, Madrid is the city where respondents seem to have the lowest capacity to mobilise their relations, and the popularity of items is well under 50% for many of them. Milan is the city where respondents seem most able to mobilise their relations, in particular related to emotional and care services, with Paris following immediately after. In 70% of cases, Milanese respondents say they have someone with whom they can talk about family problems, while this drops to 66% for Lyon, 56% for Paris and 25% for Madrid. Also, as far as care support, Milanese respondents seem more able to mobilise relations in case of sickness (90% of respondents) or childcare needs (60% of respondents). This is hardly surprising if one considers the type of relations that Milanese respondents mobilise: the family, especially parents, or in-laws. The crucial role of family has already been emphasised in Chapter 2 (when we mentioned that one of the most important factors in neighbourhood selection is proximity to other family members, including their supportive role in daily life) and Chapter 3 (importance of family and friends as one of the decisive factors when moving abroad for long periods, making respondents commute to their city of origin even when working abroad).

In the case of Milan and Madrid, these findings concerning childcare support contribute strongly to the organisation of the Welfare State. As is well known, Italy and Spain are part of the Southern European Welfare Model (Ferrera, 1996), offering a fragmented and incomplete set of benefits for income maintenance and a very poor set of welfare services, supplemented by universal health care and education systems. Within this picture, Milan is one of the best-equipped northern cities in terms of social and educational services, though childcare continues to be an issue, especially for children under the age of 3. Early collective public childcare services are still poor in respect of citizens' demands, and the opening and closing hours of services rarely match (mainly full-time) mothers' working hours, who often need to find alternative or complementary solutions to the collective services. Parents or in-laws become one of the main alternative

or complementary systems to support basic childcare functions. In Paris, on the contrary, respondents more often mention friends than family, and this can be explained by several factors. First, in Paris, there are more respondents born outside the city, who cannot rely on their parents for childcare support. Second, when referring to childcare, Milanese and Madrilanian respondents often think of daily support for long hours, while Parisians often think of occasional situations during a short span of time. Again, this refers to the different provisions of services in this field in the cities (Table 4.2).

Considering the type of relation, friends and family are those whom respondents rely on for almost any kind of support, from the material (moving home) to the emotional. In the latter case, but not only, most of these managers named one of the three best friends they had previously mentioned. Furthermore, they also mentioned other friends, mainly referring to more professional support situations requiring medical or financial advice. Again, differences are visible across the four cities. Milan respondents make the most use of the same family ties, suggesting a rather high multiplexity of strong ties (with an overlap of exchanges and roles, such as the same person providing support in more than one situation): family is mentioned regarding material, financial and care support. Indeed, for all respondents in all cities, family is the main source of financial support. Important differences also exist regarding the financial sphere, with Milan and Paris having the highest percentage of managers who can borrow money from family members (approximately €10,000), compared with much less support in the other two cities.

Almost all the individuals mentioned as potential sources of support live in the same city as the respondents (48%), some even in the same neighbourhood (22%). Physical proximity in this case fosters mutual support and exchange, revealing the rootedness of respondents in their local context, which is not necessarily bound to the neighbourhood but includes the whole city. Clearly, our respondents are mobile in the city,¹¹ and their reference point is the urban area as a whole, even though the neighbourhood remains relevant. In addition to the importance of local friends, though, many respondents also mentioned 'non-local friends,' showing a mix between local, national and international friends (e.g. emotional support, sending children abroad, borrowing a second home). Half of the managers interviewed for the survey were born outside the urban region where they lived, these managers do not abandon friends from the territories where they used to live; in fact they often mention friends living outside the urban area. Indeed, cross-tabulating their friends' place of residence with the place where the respondent was born leads to interesting pieces of our puzzle for understanding the rootedness of respondents, and their relations within different territories. Indeed, respondents born in other regions have more friends living there, thus to some extent keeping their roots in their original local context where, in many cases, some family members still live, and where they often return to. This is not surprising but does undermine certain ideas about social relations developing at random in different directions and in different countries. Rather, friendships are deeply rooted in territories with previous residence experience, and they are long-lasting.

This is further confirmed when considering the three profiles in relation to transnationalism. One might expect that respondents with high transnationalism rely less on their social networks, and in particular on their local or national friends, but this is actually not the case. The only difference among the three profiles, as also noticed in the position generator analysis, is that they tend to mention friends living abroad more often than their colleagues in relation to emotional support and education for their children.

Table 4.2 Proportion of managers in each city who can obtain help of specific types from social network members, and the relation between them^a

	Milan		Madrid		Lyon		Paris	
	Percentage of cases	Type of relation (%) ^b	Percentage	Type of relation (%)	Percentage	Type of relation (%)	Percentage	Type of relation (%)
Material								
Can help when moving house	79 ^c	Family (48) ^d	12	Friend (42)	78	Friend (67)	65	Friend (50)
Can help with small jobs around the house	56	Family (48)	35	Family (48)	63	Friend (64)	72	Friend (62)
Emotional								
Can give advice concerning a conflict with family members	70	Friend (55)	25	Friend (54)	66	Friend (52)	59	Family (53)
Care								
Can do your shopping when you are ill	89	Family (74)	13	Friend (40)	57	Family (57)	61	Family (53)
Can look after your children when you cannot	60	Family (74)	21	Family (100)	54	Family (56)	58	Friend (53)
Leisure								
Can provide sports-events tickets	50	Friend (54)	N.A	NA	51	Friend (47)	57	Family (62)
Can provide tickets for cultural events	60	Friend (60)	N.A	NA	60	Friend (38)	48	Friend (45)
Can give advice regarding sending children abroad	44	Friend (54)	3	Friend (68)	46	Family (67)	47	Friend (29)
Can lend you a holiday home	56	Friend (60)	16	Family (80)	40	Friend (52)	32	Friend (79)
Finance								
Can give advice in financial matters	45	Family (49)	19	Friend (46)	34	Family (41)	20	Friend (60)
Can lend you a large sum of money	71	Family (71)	4	Family (80)	51	Family (61)	80	Family (76)
Administrative								
Can support you in administrative-bureaucratic matters	22	Acquaintance (33)	9	Family (40)	49	Friend (48)	59	Friend (46)
Work								
Can give a recommendation if you are applying for a new job	37	Co-worker (50)	5	Friend (67)	42	Co-worker (37)	56	Friend (41)
Health								
Can give medical advice when you are ill	79	Friend (48)	31	Friend (43)	78	Friend (47)	76	Friend (44)

^a Results are calculated only for respondents who have children.

^b Categories were: family, friend, neighbour, co-worker, acquaintance.

^c This information means that 79% of the respondents know someone they can rely on in that situation.

^d This information means that 48% of the respondents who can rely on someone mentioned the family.

These findings across the four cities provide further support for the thesis of the strong territorialisation of European societies. The relatively high frequency of meetings and material exchanges is enhanced by physical proximity. People mentioned through the resource generator technique live in the same city as the respondents, but this is true also for the (best) friends mentioned. In all cities, almost half of the three (best) friends mentioned by the respondents live in the same city (in Madrid, the percentage rises to 66%). Physical proximity is even more pronounced for the respondents living in suburbs. These managers are more likely to have friends living in the same neighbourhood, and this is the case in particular for 35% of the Milanese respondents. All this contrasts quite sharply with Manchester's middle classes, where most friends live abroad or far away. Savage *et al.* (2005) wrote that 'maintaining friends requires the persistence and the ability to be abstracted from time and space so it can endure over these two dimensions' (p. 242). In another study on professional middle classes living in the north-west of England, Larsen *et al.* (2006) show a combination of distant and nearby ties, with the average distance of their sample to their three 'most important people' of about 15 km. These authors stress the importance of co-presence to maintain friendship, and report occasional co-presence for their respondents. In Milan, Madrid, Paris or Lyon, the intensity of relations is largely sustained by physical contact and fostered by limited and fixed-term geographical mobility. The managers of this sample report a high frequency of co-presence, and this is fostered by the fact that they are very well rooted in their local physical and social space.

The physical proximity and the high frequency of contacts and visits stress the density of these relations. Indeed, the analysis of the proxy of network closure¹² highlights that in Madrid and Milan, 80% of respondents declared that their three best friends knew each other and were friends in their own right, while in Paris and Lyon, the percentage drops to 66%, which is in any case a relatively high share. The density in the Milanese case can also help explain the high level of social support of the respondents: as is well known, a dense social network is more likely to provide strong social support (Coleman, 1990; Lin, 2001), with social capital of obligations and expectation more likely to develop. However, a high density can have a twofold reading: on the one hand, it points towards the embeddedness of the respondents in their social context, as they do not mention dyadic and isolated relations, and their great capacity to obtain support. On the other hand, this information suggests a close and self-reproducing network. These two interpretations are not mutually exclusive: our respondents have a dense friendship network that is strongly territorially based.

Managers take part in varied activities with their friends as one would expect: they go out to restaurants, bars and cafes, and sometimes travel on holidays together, but mainly, they meet at home. Friendship acquires therefore quite a private (and relatively close) dimension. Friendship ties are formed in collective and structured spaces, but they are then nourished and maintained in the private dimension. The privatisation of sociability is a well-known phenomenon influenced by a range of factors, including in particular class position and marital organisation (Wellman, 1992). Within the 'bourgeois milieu,' the privatisation of sociability already started to occur in the nineteenth century, before spreading to the whole population in contemporary society. As people commit more resources to their home, managers' homes become more comfortable, cosy and very well furnished, so the home is transformed into a place to invite people to rather than exclude them from (Allan, 1996; Degenne and Forsé, 1999): opening your home to friends means establishing strong and warm relations.

Transnational managers have more friends abroad

Almost all managers said they had friends abroad: this is true for 70% of our sample, with Paris scoring 85% and Milan 73%. Conversely, Paris comprises the lowest percentage of respondents that have no friends abroad (11%) and Milan the highest (25%), with Lyon and Madrid scoring in between. In Paris, most managers have no difficulty naming two or three 'good friends' abroad, and pointing to other people with whom they interact on a regular basis. Regular exchange and visits to foreign friends (at least once a year), or to French friends living abroad, emerge as an important part of Parisian managers' life and networks. The accounts of the respondents abound with sentences stating that 'they have friends living in other European cities where they spend some long week-ends.' The frequency of visits to these friends is less intensive than with those living nearby, but occasional co-presence is ensured. The same findings hold true for Madrid. Our Madrilenian respondents mentioned as a rule three friends living abroad whom they see once a year. Managers in Paris and Madrid therefore regularly have meetings with their friends abroad, sustaining Urry's (2005) point about transnational networks 'only functioning if it is intermittently activated through occasional co-presence' (p. 117). Lagging behind are the respondents in Milan and Lyon. The Milanese interviewees mentioned few such international connections, and among those who said that they have friends abroad, contacts were more rare. However, the respondents thought they could easily mobilise these 'silent' relations, somehow abstracting their relationship from time. In all four cities, university and work were mentioned as crucial for forming these relationships.

However, exposure to foreign friends occurs not only when one is abroad but also in the local place of residence, considering the fact that one can get in touch with foreign colleagues and/or immigrants. A person can live in one place and never leave it but can still be transnationalised if the place of residence and location becomes a stage of transnational connectivity. The size and nature of the company respondents were working for are important for opportunities to meet foreign colleagues while remaining at home or travelling for very short trips. Some of our respondents' narratives clearly refer to this experience, as in the case of one Milanese man who said that thanks to his job in a multinational company, he started working with a foreign colleague on a daily basis, becoming and remaining friends even though they no longer work together.

There are other ways to enter transnational networks while staying at home, such as being in touch with mobile co-nationals who live abroad, for instance. This applied to several of our interviewees; when some of their university colleagues moved abroad, they remained in touch.

Despite the discourses on globalisation, these findings show that our managers are actually embedded in transnational networks, but these networks are rather limited in terms of geographical locations: European connections are over-represented, while Far Eastern connections remain relatively rare. As already stressed for national ties, the geographical dispersion of friends living abroad does not encompass all world regions, and some cities and countries clearly emerge as more common locations. The individual accounts of these managers and individual geography of their transnational networks sketch a collective pattern: several very specific mobility configurations exist in which the socio-political and economic interpenetration between the nation states plays an important role. First of all, the predominance of West European ties is clearly visible, and this could be considered an outcome of the political and economic process

of Europeanisation. Despite the fact that geographical mobility is still rather low, and relatively few people still permanently change their country of residence, interconnections between Europeans (or at least those belonging to the most affluent groups) are strong and growing.

Does the degree of transnationalism have an impact on transnational networks? Here, the answer is clearly positive: the higher the respondents' scores in transnationalism, the more likely they are to mention a higher number of both co-national friends living abroad and foreign friends, and conversely the less likely they are to answer that they have no friends abroad. These two factors are interconnected, although it seems difficult to speculate further on the exact nature of this relation. Transnational practices (travelling abroad, speaking foreign languages, etc.) are more likely to take place if one has friends abroad but can also increase the chances of establishing new relations with people living abroad. As expected, these two dimensions (having friends abroad and being more transnational) clearly interact. Managers often refer to their Erasmus experiences when they met other foreign students with whom they remained in touch. The fact of having spent a period in a foreign country appears significant for having friends abroad. To sum up the argument: more transnational managers more often have friends abroad, and the more transnational they are, the higher the number of friends living abroad they mentioned.

Family and the City: A Recovered Relation

Family support networks: France versus Italy and Spain

For managers in Madrid, Lyon, Milan and Paris, family and kinship matter very much, and the point was eloquently made to explain residential choice in previous chapters. Social networks and social capital analysis confirm the importance of kinship in the metropolitan area. However, one major difference has to be taken into account: women managers from Spain and Italy differ very much from those in France. Important differences exist between the social contexts: in this case, it is not so much the city that makes the difference but the country. Women managers in Spain and Italy have fewer children and are less likely to be married (80% of French women managers have a partner or are married, while 45% in Madrid and 41% in Milan are single). Labour market conditions are the obvious suspects for explaining these differences. Southern European labour markets are not particularly women-friendly (as noted already in Chapter 3), in terms of equal opportunities and/or working hours (Mari-Klose and Moreno-Fuentes, 2013). They often require extensive hours (particularly for managers), making it difficult to reconcile work and family life. The relatively high fertility rate in France (more than two children per woman) and the very low rates in Italy and Spain (1.3) are also confirmed in the case of the female managers of this sample.

The choice of managers' partners: residential and social homogeneity

Managers find their partner in the urban area where they live. Milanese managers include the highest percentage of respondents in couples paired with someone from the same city. In Paris, at the other extreme of our small spectrum of cities, managers' partners are more diversified in terms of their geographical origins, another instance

Table 4.3 Origins of partners (%)

	<i>Cities</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>	
Born in the same metropolitan region	32	41	49	61	47
Born outside the metropolitan region	68	59	51	39	53

of Paris as an urban escalator region for the whole country. Lyon and Madrid appear somewhere in between, but with a majority of respondents in couples with partners coming from other parts of the same region (Table 4.3).

Dense face-to-face family interactions and material exchanges within the city

In recent times, family has again been at the forefront of academic discussion, owing to the radical transformations that societies are undergoing in terms of marriage decline, increase in divorce, births out of wedlock and the increasing presence of ‘non-standard’ families. Despite these changes, clearly visible in the narratives of the managers of this sample, primary family ties within their solidarity system continue to play a major role as previously discussed. The urban managers we interviewed displayed dense interactions with their family, providing and receiving ample support, a pattern that appears particularly strong in the cases of Milan and Madrid.

Milan is the city where the frequency of family contacts is highest, and this applies to siblings and parents. In this city, the frequency of contacts with siblings is mostly weekly: 63% of respondents interact at least once a week with their siblings, a similar figure is found for Madrid (60%), while the French cities score less than 30%. The same pattern applies to relations with parents, with Milan first in the ranking with half of the respondents having daily contact with their mother or father, and 90% having contact at least once a week. Madrid immediately follows with 40% having daily contact with parents, and 93% of respondents having contact at least once a week. Lyon and Paris lag far behind, with 8.6 and 2.3%, respectively, of the respondents having daily contact, while 60% declare that they have contact on a weekly basis. The strong divide is also supported by the frequency of visits where similar results are obtained. These findings match those from the general survey on social participation and living conditions carried out by the EU, where Italians appear as those who contact and visit their relatives most frequently (with 68% for weekly contact and 63% for weekly visits, respectively), followed by the Spanish (with 67% for weekly contact and 62% of visits) and the French (with 63% for weekly contact and 51% of visits)¹³ (see Table 4.4).

The frequency of visits (and support exchanged) is strengthened by physical proximity, and this is also one of the reasons why Parisian respondents score lower in this respect, as they tend to come from regions other than Paris, and often their parents do not live nearby. In the previous chapter, some clues emerged about the importance of family in structuring residential patterns; here, data clearly show the differences among cities. Milan clearly stands out as an extreme case (26% of the managers live in the same neighbourhood as their parents, while the figure is about 5% in the other cities). A similar percentage applies to their siblings: in Milan, 20% of the respondents live in the same neighbourhood as their siblings. At the scale of the urban area, 50% of

Table 4.4 Place of residence of parents and siblings in relation to the respondents (%)

	<i>Paris</i>		<i>Lyon</i>		<i>Madrid</i>		<i>Milan</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Siblings</i>
In the same neighbourhood	7	0	0	1	0	0	27	21	9	6
In the same city, not neighbourhood	18	14	27	8	56	47	39	29	35	28
In the same metropolitan region	18	31	25	23	19	13	12	18	19	19
Other regions, same country	46	43	46	59	25	30	21	21	35	36
Abroad	11	12	2	9	0	10	0	11	3	10

Milanese managers live in the same city as their siblings. In Madrid, results are similar as far as the whole city is concerned but quite different in terms of neighbourhood: no respondent lives in the same neighbourhood as their parents.

As previously mentioned, physical proximity can foster reciprocal support in several domains. The Milanese and Madrilenian respondents are by far those who rely more on the non-cohabitant family members, in particular for material support and childcare. Parents therefore represent an important source of support, although as the literature on social support and family issues demonstrates, this is not without certain 'moral' and material obligations (Finch, 1989). The moral obligation can be visible in many of the Milanese respondents when they declare not being able to move abroad because 'they do not feel like leaving their parents now that they are old and in need.'

Interestingly, in all four cities, a relatively small group of respondents (about 10%) have siblings abroad. This is an important sign of transnationalism that also has an impact on actual travelling practices; indeed respondents with siblings abroad report travelling at least once a year to visit their siblings. The analyses of familial relations clearly show our respondents' strong attachment and commitment to their family, albeit to varying degrees, and partly reaffirm the strong territorialisation of the European cities. These managers' social networks seem to be based on a central core of very strong (and long-lasting) relations that anchor them to their (local and national) territory. Yet, there are also weak ties (mostly professional ones). And territorialisation does not mean that territory, the neighbourhood and the city, can be assumed to be sources of social solidarity, or sources of social belonging per se; the analysis of relations with neighbours in the next section is a case in point and explains why this is not the case.

Neighbours: Who Are Those Strangers?

Attempts to identify the remaking of communities within cities have been a long-term concern of urban sociology in the context of fears about the potentially de-socialising effect of the city. Substantial research about neighbourhoods has attempted, more or less convincingly, to show forms of interaction and support between neighbours.

However, in the North American context of intense spatial mobility, family could hardly provide the level of support found in Milan, for instance, hence the emphasis on social relations within neighbourhoods. This does not apply to managers in Milan, Lyon, Madrid or Paris. In some of the urban literature, the question of rootedness is associated with the neighbourhood.

Within our sample, managers do not interact or exchange goods or services with their neighbours on a regular basis. A certain type or class of neighbour may be favoured, but not immediate ones. Relatively forced close spatial proximity, therefore, can lead to distance. Thus, the first finding to highlight in the analysis of neighbour relations is the reduced number of neighbours quoted by our respondents; in general, results reveal rather limited interactions, albeit with important differences in the cities. Overall, only one or two names are mentioned, and these are associated with a rigorous selection process controlling both for gender and for the kind of neighbourhood the respondents are living in (mixed or homogeneous). The small size of their networks with neighbours appears to be independent of the length of residence both in the neighbourhood and in their property, so that interviewees living in the same building for a very long time do not report more contacts. It is not even a case of closure towards neighbours owing to differing respondents' socio-economic characteristics, as respondents have the perception of having the same social status of their neighbours. Yet some differences are still visible among the four cities. In Milan, almost one-third of the sample did not mention any neighbour at all, while in Paris, half of the sample mentioned two neighbours, and one of every five respondents could name four neighbours. Lyon and Madrid are in between, with one or two neighbours named. In most cases, the names refer to a couple living next door, or on the upstairs or downstairs floor.

Physical proximity in this respect is not a factor in creating social relations for our respondents, and strong selectivity seems to be at work. We find here some evidence of the individualisation process put forward by Beck, that is the fact that individuals are less likely to belong to traditional territorial networks and are free to choose their relations, as well as being very selective in their decisions. Some alternative explanations can account for this selectivity and the low intensity of neighbour networks. The first, and probably least significant, recalls the debate on the city as a place of scarce and anonymous relations, a place of isolation where individuals are and feel alone despite the population density. The most popular sentence stressing the loneliness of individuals in the city is that 'no one knows who the neighbours are.' This argument, however, is not consistent with the vivid social life our respondents describe as far as family and above all friends are concerned. Our respondents are not alone, do not feel lonely and have a wide friendship network. A second argument could be that these are busy people working very long hours and who therefore have no time to create and maintain relations with their neighbours. Yet, this argument is not very convincing either for exactly the same reasons: our respondents do have time for their friends and family. Thus, the time argument alone is not enough and needs further exploration. A third explanation may be more instrumental: managers do not need their neighbours, as they have dense networks of friends and families in the city.

Individual wealth is another element preventing this form of social capital, as it is less likely that wealthy people need other people's support (as they can buy whatever they may need directly in the market). Following this line of reasoning, there are at least two conditions negatively affecting our respondents' likelihood of creating these

kinds of relations with neighbours: (1) they are in a situation of relative economic affluence, allowing them to buy all they need on the market; (2) almost all of them have alternative sources of emotional and material support within the neighbourhood and the city as a whole (friends and family). One of our Parisian respondents, talking about the poverty of the relations with her neighbours in a very reflexive way declared that she and her husband have quite a large family network, which she is always very busy with, and so has no time for anything or anyone else. To further support this line of reasoning, the narratives of our respondents almost never mentioned neighbours as a source of support in any of the situations we identified in the resource generator technique.

Information exchange on matters affecting the building is actually one of the major reasons for the respondents to create and maintain relations with their neighbours. Very few of our respondents mentioned the 'emotional need' for good relations with neighbours living in the same building or to (re)create a sense of 'community' or belonging as a reason for establishing and maintaining good relations with neighbours. Only in Paris, within the mixed central neighbourhood, did a few respondents refer to the 'local community' where residents support each other, though this seemed more an expression of wishful thinking, than a concrete situation.¹⁴

Looking at the nature of relations with neighbours can help us better understand the kinds of interaction our respondents have with them. Thinking of these relations on a continuum with, at one extreme, no relations at all and, at the other extreme, the mutual exchange of favours, we find Spanish respondents near the first extreme (41% of the Spanish respondents either have no contact at all or just say 'hello') and the Parisians at the other extreme (35% of respondents exchange favours with their neighbours). The other cities are in between: in Lyon, 31% of respondents exchange favours with neighbours, in Milan 25.9%, while Madrid is far behind (2%). This does not mean that they have a large network of neighbours; rather, it means that our managers exchange favours and have cordial relations with the few neighbours they mention.

The frequency of contacts with neighbours reaffirms the high level of sociability of our respondents. In Milan, the respondents who have contact with neighbours exchange frequent visits (often several times a week), while in the other cities, the majority of respondents have contact every two weeks. Intimacy is relatively high for all, considering that in all cities, one-third of respondents declare that their neighbours can visit them without warning, and only in Madrid is the percentage lower than 25%. We can say therefore that if establishing social relations with neighbours is not the general rule, once these relations are established, they are often quite warm.

The duration of neighbour relationships is consistent with the findings on residential patterns. In Milan, where residential mobility is very low, almost four respondents out of ten have relationships lasting more than twenty years, and very few have short ones. In the other cities, the percentage is reversed. In Madrid, for instance, 41% of the respondents have relationships lasting less than five years, in Lyon 38% and in Paris 27%.

Summing up, the two Southern European cities appear to be those where respondents are more selective with neighbours, although in different ways. Managers in Milan are highly selective and have very few contacts, but once they form ties, relations are warm and long-lasting. Managers in Madrid seem to be less selective in establishing relations, getting in touch with more neighbours, but this contact tends to be very superficial, not establishing real relations of reciprocity. For all our respondents in the four cities, neighbour relations are not a significant source of social solidarity. The

buildings inhabited by our respondents are places for developing and sustaining particular relationships with few individuals, rather than being places of communal involvement per se, though the majority of established relations reveal strong individual ties.

Family and Friends, but No Engagement in the Public Sphere

The strong territorialisation of the respondents and their vivid social lives within the city does not go hand in hand with local public participation. Territorialisation does not mean that territory is a source of social solidarity per se or a platform for local public engagement. The managers in this sample tend to live in the territory (the neighbourhood and the city) in quite an individual and privatised manner, with the partial exception of Parisian managers, who are more active than their colleagues in their local (and national) associations. Managers are territorialised in the sense that they use (and are rooted in) the neighbourhood, the city and their original town (when they are not born in the city included in this research), but this mainly occurs because their informal relations are there. They do not exert their voice through local civic or political associations; they do not have a public local life. A process of privatisation, of retreat within the domestic sphere, seems to be at work in these managers, unless there are some urgent local matters that directly concern them (the managing of the school, parent–teacher associations, etc.), in which case they are keen to participate and make their voice heard. For once, these findings are comparable with those of Savage *et al.* (2005) as far as middle-class parents in the north-west of England are concerned.

What about joining associations at other scale levels? Participation in formal associations and formal civic engagement are two dimensions that the literature on social capital stresses as being crucial to foster trust and democratisation within the national and local community. When individuals join a club or association, they are supposed to come into regular contact with a wider group of people, and, it is argued, they learn the habits of reciprocity and mutual trust (Putnam, 2000; Halpern, 2005, p. 258). This would help society to become more open towards others, more tolerant besides being more economically dynamic (as trust would reduce transaction costs). Empirical studies show that this relation is far from problematic, and in any case not straightforward (Stolle and Rochon, 1998; Claibourn and Martin, 2000; Newton, 2001; Uslaner, 2002; Sciolla, 2003). Yet, within this perspective, our managers do not even run the risk of being a driving force for increasing trust at the local and national level; rather quite the opposite. A relatively limited participation in national and international associations is found among these managers, even lower than the national average (Table 4.5).

Despite the limitations of these data, what seems to emerge from this table and from the interviewees' narratives is that our managers are not very involved in either local or national associations, even transnational or international ones (such as *Médecins Sans Frontières*, WWF or Greenpeace). This holds true for all managers in all cities when considering their degree of transnationalism. The last row of Table 4.5 refers to *other kinds of associations*; it is the only row where our managers seem to have some kind of involvement and commitment in associations, but this can be explained by the respondents' narratives. These associations refer to (national) professional associations representing their economic and political interests, and for many of the interviewees it is actually compulsory to join them. What these associations require is not active involvement or participation, but just a financial contribution. This is not therefore so much a case of an

Table 4.5 Respondents in different kinds of association (%)

<i>Type of association</i>	<i>Cities</i>			
	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Madrid</i>	<i>Milan</i>
Sport		<i>32^a</i>	<i>19^a</i>	<i>19^a</i>
	8	9	14	9
Charitable		<i>15^a</i>	<i>11^a</i>	<i>15^a</i>
	2	6	30	0
Cultural		<i>28^a</i>	<i>17^a</i>	<i>15^a</i>
	8	4	8	10
Religious		<i>11^a</i>	<i>11^a</i>	<i>11^a</i>
	3	2	2	3
Political		<i>3^a</i>	<i>5^a</i>	<i>6^a</i>
	7	2	5	1
Others		<i>NA</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>NA</i>
	18	28	27	13

Data in italics refer to the country and not the city.

^aNational average data from ESS 2002 (Newton and Montero, 2007).

engagement creating bridging social capital but more a way to lobby and defend their own interests, creating 'corporative' social capital. Positive effects of this kind of social capital affect only the members of the *club*, not necessarily the whole community. In this sense, these managers do not seem very interested in exerting their voice through civic engagement, though they are more sensitive (albeit more passively than actively) to ensuring that their (economic) interests are safeguarded. Again, differences are visible among the four cities, but on the whole this conclusion holds true for all cities.

These findings can be interpreted in two contrasting ways: on the one hand, this points towards civic disengagement, evidence of a 'partial exit strategy' or retreat; on the other hand, it can result from the fact that these people do not have time or are not willing to join associations, as they tend to work long hours and travel relatively frequently (at least about half of them). The first hypothesis would appear more robust if the respondents' practices in terms of service use and participation in city and national life demonstrated retrenchment from the public sphere. As we have seen in Chapter 3, however, this is not the case.

The second hypothesis seems to us rather fragile as well. It is true that all our managers declare that they have no time for personnel activities beyond work, but they all find time to see their family and friends frequently. Also, in this case, as for the neighbours' case, a selection of activities could be at work: they decide to privilege the private sphere, that of informal networks.

Conclusions: Dense Social Networks Abroad and in the City

Network transnationalism is widespread among managers, they almost all have (national or foreign) friends living abroad with whom they keep in close contact. Contrary to what the 'exit' hypothesis would support, managers are not de-territorialised. Instead, they have a solid core of local long-lasting relations that they use and mobilise regularly

and that make them very rooted in their territory. This core is mainly composed of primary family members and friends living in the same city or neighbourhood, in several cases in the original town our managers come from. Territory does not emerge as a source of social solidarity, or local engagement per se; nor does it bind managers through undifferentiated dependencies and loyalties. Certainly, it is not the only social circle to which managers belong. Within their territory, managers are indeed quite selective in their social relations and affiliations. While they have considerable contact with primary family members and friends, they have limited contacts with their neighbours or with local (and national) formal associations in the same territory. Managers do not seem interested in investing in these kinds of relations, unless they are explicitly asked for, as in the case of parent–teacher associations. In this sense, they can be described as individuals who have partly withdrawn into their private sphere, slightly selfish, selecting within the neighbourhood and the city those resources that are useful for their welfare and disregarding what they do not need (or think they do not). They are therefore adopting ‘partial exit’ strategies that they deploy and enact at different scale levels.

Within this framework, territory, and the local dimension in particular, cannot be assumed as a traditional collective institution. Using Simmel’s words, ‘the individual escapes the domination of the small circle, for instance the local community, that bounds his personality within its confines’ On the contrary, individuals are embedded in a number of different circles, among which locality is just one. Following Simmel, each individual occupies a distinct position in the intersection of these many circles, at both the horizontal and vertical scale levels. The distinct position is the result of the intersection of parallel (and partly independent) circles to which individuals belong, not the result of concentric circles where individuals are nested within a hierarchical structure because of inherited affiliation.

This multiplication of circles, and their unique intersection, can be considered part of the broader process of individualisation that (increased) spatial mobility has fostered (i.e. the process of bringing about and increasing individuals’ freedom from traditional social belongings and their constraints: family, kinship network, villages, political parties, trade unions). The interviewed urban managers reflect this process very well. They have carefully selected and maintained their friends on the basis of common interests, attitudes and lifestyles. They have instead neglected local neighbours and participation in collective organisations. Despite the fact that relations are mostly chosen rather than inherited, they are necessarily situated in particular webs of belonging, with access to particular others, strongly depending on the (physical and social) places they have attended during their early life stages (school and university).

The managers in this sample are clearly inserted in different parallel, (sometimes) overlapping circles (family, friends and colleagues) that are not bound to a single local place but dispersed over the regional, national and transnational scales. They consider spatial anchorage (to the neighbourhood and the city) not as a restriction but rather as a resource, and the many contacts they have beyond ensure them global connectivity, making them well established in different scale-level networks. At the same time, however, their narratives also highlight the persistent tension between mobility and stability or continuity; between ascribed and acquisitive elements, between freedom and bonds at the micro-level. When managers declare that they have not chosen to live in the city in which they live, but it is something ‘natural’ because their parents

and friends live there, they make evident 'the omnipresence of ascription' (Calhoun, 2003a, b), the fact that they do not freely choose, and that traditional bonds are still very much present. Again, when managers, in all cities, bring to the fore the importance of the family, and familial solidarity, they refer to the persistence of a traditional institution.

No clear difference in the sociability sphere and in the nature of networks is present between the three profiles of transnationalism we identified. The most transnational respondents have a strong core of long-lasting, supportive and territorialised relations as well, which they regularly see just like the less transnational respondents. By contrast, the most transnational respondents have a wider set of foreign relations, more friends abroad with whom they keep frequent and close contacts. This makes the networks of the transnational managers wider and more diversified, and the dimension of 'selection' more accentuated.

Notes

- 1 Beck and Giddens write that these changes in social relations, while bringing about new risks for individuals as they are no longer inserted and protected by traditional collective organisations such as kinship networks, territorial community, political parties and trade unions, increase individual choice, freedom and responsibility. The individual's empowerment (to use a fashionable term) is seen to be enhanced, bringing with it both advantages and, as noted, risks. In Bauman (1998), these changes are seen mainly in negative terms, and the first interpretation is favoured.
- 2 Some important exceptions exist, such as Young and Willmott (1957) and Bott (1957), but they were rather isolated.
- 3 We also asked about the frequency of calls and visits to family members and geographical distance, in terms of residence. As far as friends are concerned, respondents were asked to name at least three friends and to describe their basic socio-economic characteristics (sex, age, place of birth, place of residence, marital status, education, profession, length of the friendship, where they met). The same information was collected for neighbours with whom the respondents declared to have some contact (eliciting name method). Information about 1456 friends and 411 neighbours was collected. The collected data do not allow us to depict a clear profile of the respondents' social networks. However, information about the three friends, plus the information collected with the position and resource generator methods, allows us to have a more precise idea of the respondents' sociability. For more information on the specific questions asked, see the methodological annex.
- 4 For more information on the use of this method, see the Methodological Appendix.
- 5 In the interview, we asked the following question: 'thinking about your friendships, could you please mention three names, telling us for each the following characteristics ...' All the respondents named the three friends we asked for, and many of them mentioned more than three because they referred to a couple, and they could not choose between the two partners. Clearly, as we already stressed, this question overemphasises the strong ties of respondents.
- 6 For more information on the use of this method, see the Methodological Appendix.
- 7 The quantitative effect ratio is clearly present. Despite this fact, we decided to keep this structural position to discern any possible linkage between different social and economic spheres.
- 8 The only difference is that they are systematically less likely to know someone who is a policeman or an administrative bureau head, two positions that might be more related to local needs.
- 9 For more information on the use of this method, see the Methodological Appendix.

- 10 The lower popularity of the bureaucratic and political items (connections to the political and public arena) is also found in other studies (Van der Gaag, 2005). In the case of Milan, the 'politically correct answer effect' may be even larger, as the concept of 'recommendation' has a very negative connotation and refers to the unfair pressure to hire someone.
- 11 Our respondents have access to different mobility resources (90% own a car, and those who do not declare that they do not need one because they travel by air all the time, they live and work in the city centre, and they take a taxi when needed).
- 12 The question used as a proxy for the density of the network was: do the three friends know each other and meet independently from you?
- 13 UK data in this respect are unfortunately not very reliable owing to the very high number of missing cases (Lelkes, 2010).
- 14 De Singly and Giraud's (2012) research about families in Paris emphasises one major factor that fosters interactions within the neighbourhood: school. They argue and provide evidence that the life of the middle classes is increasingly structured around children's schools including dense interactions with other parents in the same neighbourhood. We only found a trace of this in our research, but we did not look for it either. However, at least for Paris, a major middle-class concern for education does loom in the questionnaire; Singly and Giraud have a point that is also supported by research about residential choice and schools developed by authors such as Van Zanten, Oberti or Prêteceille.

Conclusion: Globalisation and Selective Rootedness in the City

This book has been structured in order to contribute to important questions in social science: Mobility beyond societies? Cities destructured by networks? Euro clash? Global capitalist elites running the world? Segregation and gentrification everywhere? Everyday/banal transnationalism? European societies in the making but dissolved in globalised networks? A new cosmopolitan social order? There is no shortage of big questions in social science that contribute to the analysis of societies and their transformations beyond the classic categories of nation states, class and modernisation. How to deal with those questions appears central to many debates. Do classical categories of sociology still make sense in a more mobile, cosmopolitan urban world (Urry, 2000; Turner, 2006)? Should we concentrate on social theory and the making of cosmopolitan space (Beck, 2006; Delanty, 2006; Rumford, 2008)? On the transformation of capitalism and its spatial consequences (Harvey, 1989; Brenner, 2004) and/or on empirical research (Fligstein, 2008; Favell and Guiraudon, 2011) and/or comparative historical trajectories (Therborn, 1995, 2011)?

This book aims to contribute to those debates and is based upon a number of propositions set out in the introduction, briefly recalled here:

- (1) The strength of sociology lies precisely in the combination of social theory and empirical investigation, hence the emphasis on actors in this research.
- (2) The concentration of wealth of the 1% elite of the world requires us to look at these people very seriously (hence the comeback of the sociology of elites), but in order to understand dynamics of social change, it is important to look at wider social groups. Managers are an interesting topic of research in order to understand the dynamics of transformation associated with changing scales.
- (3) Cities are not undifferentiated urban spaces: European cities are a relevant category of study, and urban middle classes have been central in their transformations. General categories such as dualisation or gentrification have to be examined empirically.

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- (4) Changing scales allow for the formation of social differentiation process and the making of new cleavages together with different logics of group formation and networks. Transnational processes transform national social orders and hierarchies.
- (5) Capitalism is an engine of social change, and the language of class should not be abandoned. However, social groups are constituted not only through work relations but also by residential choices—elective belonging (Savage *et al.*, 2005), as well as social networks.
- (6) Europe is characterised by long-term territorialisation and low cross-border mobility rates. Transnational mobility is likely to make sense together with rootedness and in relation to the conditions of departure, hence the concept of ‘partial exit.’

This book is about a class fraction across four cities in three nation states, and the focus is placed on this class fraction (likely to be among the more mobile) and how its members relate to their territory and collectively provided services. The survey focused on managers as part of the middle classes, a historical pillar of European cities, a group likely to benefit from processes of Europeanisation and globalisation (Mau, 2010a; Favell and Guiraudon, 2011). It is based upon an unrepresentative, reasonable and convenient sample of 480 managers living in the south-western corner of Europe. All the conclusions are set within the limits of this empirical research.

A European Urban ‘Modernist’ Upper-Middle Class: Values, Networks of Friends and European Mobility ... but the Future Is Global

‘Global cities’ differ from other cities in terms of degree not nature. The choice of cities in this book included four globalising cities selected through a mix of controlled choices. Madrid and Paris are two national capitals; Lyon and Milan, dynamic European regional capitals. Throughout the book, systematic evidence of differences between these cities was provided, but this requires two caveats. First, the survey is about individuals we interviewed in face-to-face interactions: results about Lyon reflect the information collected from interviewees from Lyon and nothing else, and the same goes for the other cities. Second, the choice of Lyon and Paris allows us to make a distinction within France, but for Madrid and Milan, we do not know whether we identify characteristics of Spain versus Madrid, or Italy versus Milan.

Urban bourgeoisies were central in the making of national societies, as shown by a rich tradition of comparative social history. Among the five middle-class groups identified in Chapter 1 (bourgeois, state employees, managers, private sector white-collar workers and other professionals), the focus of this research was on managers from the private and public sectors. Managers have known a rapid growth over the last few decades, and they cover an interesting social position between capital and labour, having enough economic and social assets to gain from changing scales, yet at the same time not being the leading agents of this change (elite).

Over the last century, they have become profoundly rooted in their national societies, ‘caged’ by war and welfare as argued by Mann (2013a, b). The comparative strategy followed in this book was therefore central: social groups mostly make sense in their national context, as they have different national trajectories and are labelled,

measured and analysed as such. The comparison aimed to identify elements to test the hypothesis on the Europeanisation of the middle classes, managers in our case. Díez Medrano (2011) suggested looking at European class formation by associating classic sociological criteria (normative expectations about how people in a given social position should behave, a relational definition, a pattern of social interaction between people, share subjective meanings and a stratification element linked to labour market position). He combined those classic criteria with three dimensions related to Europe: identity, political mobilisation and strong transnational ties.

The comparison on the European profile of this group of managers, possibly a class, is not easy to disentangle, and their adapting to the three dimensions put forward by Díez Medrano is not completely convincing. There is little evidence of political involvement at the European level, and the question of identity is always difficult to define (Favell, 2008; Aldrin, 2010). The managers in this sample do not see European integration as a threat to national identities, and yet they do not particularly identify with the EU but articulate different levels of identification including the EU. The simple measure of identity in terms of 'primary belonging' tells us that about a third of our managers mention the national level first, and around 40% refer to the local or regional level in the first instance. Fewer than one out of five managers mentions Europe, and more managers mention the world first rather than Europe. In all matters of Europeanisation, this is a crucial issue (the dynamics of globalisation increasingly encompass the economy and society of Europe). Managers are more European than the rest of the population (Duchesne and Frogner, 2007; Recchi and Favell, 2009), but the EU adds a further level of complexity to the identity issue, instead of replacing the existing ones.

In relation to the third dimension stressed by Díez Medrano to define European classes, our managers have transnational networks of close friends abroad, overwhelmingly within Europe. The majority of our managers visit the same European cities (London, Paris, Barcelona, Berlin, Geneva, Brussels), have friends across Europe and deploy a similar way of life where geographical distance matters. This could also be combined with data on mobility in Europe beyond constraints associated with a particular job. This evidence echoes the general statement by Therborn (2011, p. 110) about migration: 'strictly speaking, current migration is not that much a global flow, but a cross-national move next door'. Europe would fit that description since transnational mobility generally means travelling regularly around the continent. Our results confirm what Recchi and Favell (2009, p. 73) mentioned: 'This may be the EU's most precious invention: a new sense of regional freedom—since it is wrapped up in very European virtues of security, welfare, quality of life, and lived out on a European scale—but freedom nonetheless.'

Within this research with a strong emphasis on transnationalism and urban representations and practices, the answers to the classic 'identity' question gave a lot of strength to the local and regional dimension. However, a methodological point must be raised: if we had done the same type of face-to-face questionnaire based upon European practices, there is little doubt that the EU identification would have come out first. What emerged in Chapter 1 is rather solid support for the idea of Europe (more than the EU as an institution) clearly articulated within global, national and local dimensions, a rather classic result for middle classes in Europe. Many answers are nevertheless marked by ambiguities.

We did not find much support for the argument of the emergence of a transnational capitalist class among the managers of our sample either. Sklair (2000) argued

that members of the transnational capitalist class seek to project images of themselves as 'citizens of the world' as well as of their places and/or countries of birth, while they share similar life-styles, patterns of higher education, consumption of luxury goods and services, and dynamics of residential segregation. Our managers do not fit that profile.

Managers are therefore increasingly European, still in part structured by national patterns, they are also defined in urban terms (and the Paris/Lyon contrast is very telling in this respect), and they share some degree of transnationalisation (rather virtual), together with a critique of their national system. Capitalism is central in this process of change: the more they work for large multinational firms, the more likely they are to be transnationally mobile, and possibly to embrace more pro-market globalised ideas. But the majority are also asking for protection, worried for their children and their countries, and unlikely to take a risk for the sake of it. They are classic reasonable bourgeois in European cities.

On the traditional normative class dimension, managers in the four cities have come out with a very strong normative framework setting them aside from their respective national society. Evidence was provided in Chapter 1: they see themselves as modernising agents within their societies, as the enlightened group within societies in need of serious adaptation to globalisation, in other words, at the cutting edge of globalised changes. The variation of the social group's national trajectories helps us understand the different extent to which managers perceive themselves as the modernising agents of their societies: with the French managers deeply convinced about their modernising function, and the Milanese ones much more hesitant about their role in that mission. Yet, they all see globalisation as an opportunity in sharp contrast with other social groups. They wholeheartedly embrace a pro-market liberal view of the world (although not neo-liberal) and identify with the UK and the Nordic European countries, something that appears quite consistent with their social positions and the benefits they may obtain from the liberalisation of their societies (again in stark contrast to their respective societies). Managers, even when they work for private firms, are not neo-liberal zealots. They actually tend to support the welfare state and ask for more effective and efficient public services, providing that those services match their needs, and waste is eliminated. Their narratives describe the need to find a balance between economic growth and dynamism, a strong welfare state and mobilisation towards sustainable development. They tend to support the European social model combining economic development, pro-market views, an effective welfare state and a pragmatic concern for the environment. They also share a set of liberal cultural and social values that are systematically comparable in all four cities. On the whole, these managers are characterised by a rather homogeneous set of values that clearly separate them from the rest of the population, a common understanding of the cognitive framework promoted by the global liberal order, despite different national trajectories and more contrasted practices. This process may be incremental, but it does indicate certain sources of potential conflict with other groups in their national societies.

The comparison of different national/urban managers shows a rather similar set of values and representations, similar social networks and, to a lesser extent, similar patterns of transnationalisation limited in time and space (to Europe) and a very comparable way to articulate different levels of identification, including the EU. Results are consistent with Fligstein's (2008) analysis of Europeanisation benefiting the upper-middle classes.

A European urban upper-middle class seems to be in the making, and managers are central to this. Some nuance is necessary however, for the managers of our sample do not see Europe as the future, the world is the future, and there lies the profound ambiguity in many responses; their minds have become globalised, not Europeanised, even though practices still remain Europeanised.

Transnational Mobility as Partial Exit: Mobility and Society

Europeans have low rates of transnational mobility, and as argued in the introduction, Europe is characterised by deep territorialisation processes, particularly in France, Italy and Spain, where peasants remained important social groups until at least the 1960s, hence the argument we made in terms of 'partial exit'. One explanation for the increase in transnational mobility is the argument that individuals become mobile in relation to their original social position and location. Going away is seen as a rational response for accumulating resources that will be used when they return to their place of origin.

Mobility is clearly a feature of contemporary societies. Internet and social networks (2.0) are developing virtual forms of mobilities as well. Societies and objects are on the move, and managers in European cities are part of this increasingly mobile world. However, it is quite clear that not everybody is mobile all the time, and territorialisation is central in continental societies, despite the slow rise of transnational mobility (Recchi and Favell, 2009). It follows that we have not accepted Urry's (2000) first methodological lesson for a new 'sociology beyond society', which he claims ought 'to develop through appropriate metaphors a sociology which focuses upon movement, mobility and contingent ordering, rather than upon stasis, structure and social order'. European urban societies usually change over decades.

Transnational mobility is seen as a factor of change, allowing 'partial exit' from national societies, but this only makes sense in relation to existing social structures and relations, which do not vanish just because of changing scales and increasing mobility. The theoretical link between the making of European society or globalised society (or bits of it) and the disappearance of existing social structures is questionable. Our empirical findings provide interesting elements to reflect on the fact that whatever the level of transnational mobility, it is quite likely that people may remain firmly rooted in their city and national context. Mobility has to be put into perspective. It does not erase everything. Societies do not disappear because of it. It adds a new level of complexity and acts as a powerful driver for individualisation processes, but it is articulated in combination with previously existing structures.

European managers from south-west Europe are becoming more transnationally mobile, much more so in virtual terms, but mobility and the form it takes make sense in relation to their actual social world: job, family, city, friends and national society. One example sums up the point. In his book on mobility, Urry (2007, p. 197) mentions a great quote from Schivelbusch: 'For the twentieth century tourist, the world has become one large department store of countryside and cities'. That may very well be true, but European managers first and foremost go and visit cities and countries next door. Only a small minority have visited Latin America, Asia or Africa. Lyon managers mostly visit Geneva and Italian cities. The Milanese go to Paris and London. There is a strong social logic in the list of cities managers visit, explained by existing modes of territorialisation of European societies, together with new forms of mobility. Rather than

sociology beyond society, at least in the case of continental Europe, it might be more fruitful to conceptualise mobility as part of sociology and societies.

The 'partial exit' hypothesis has proved fruitful for making sense of the strategies and choices of many of our managers. Spanish female managers were a quasi-systematic illustration. Faced with rare opportunities to improve their career in Madrid, those we interviewed pursued their professional trajectories in a foreign country before coming back with much better positions that they could not have obtained without this 'partial exit'. Pursuing their career in a foreign country was a strategy to avoid existing hierarchies, to accumulate resources and return. In Milan, too, managers may be reluctant to move unless some clear benefits on the job market are identified, if possible in relation to the same employer. Managers in the financial sectors were also good examples because many of them, whatever the city in which they lived, argued that they had to spend some time in financial institutions in London to propel their career at home.

Most of the time, transnational mobility (and the 'partial exit' strategy) makes sense in relation to the situation of departure: the job market, the city, the networks of friends and family; hence our surprise to see how many managers went abroad for short periods of time, only to return to the place where they were before (neighbourhood, city), or somewhere chosen in relation to traces of the past, and existing networks. That was massive in the case of Milan and Lyon, but also applied to Madrid and Paris.

Managers in European cities are becoming transnational, but progressively and, when possible 'under shelter'. In Germany, Mau eloquently and systematically documented various mobile and immobile forms of transnationalisation profoundly eroding the classic concept of national societies within borders. This, of course, is also true for our European managers. Transnationalisation has to be clearly separated from transnational mobility. Half the managers have spent more than 6 months in a foreign country, and transnational mobility is limited in space (western world close to home) and time. Managers tend to leave or want to leave for limited periods, if possible to return to where they were. The majority of them cross national boundaries on a regular basis for work, for tourism or to visit friends and families. Despite the absence of systematic longitudinal data, the indications of those trends signal a radical change related not to transnationalisation (whether European or global) but rather to incremental changes, slow diffusion and imitation mechanisms. Differences between older managers and younger ones point in the same direction: younger managers are more transnationally mobile, albeit only slightly more so, and there is no radical change on the way as far as we measured it. In that sense, the classic opposition between local and cosmopolitan, or as Bauman (1998, p. 45) put it, 'some inhabit the globe; others are chained to place' appears less relevant in the case of our managers, irrespective of whether they inhabit Madrid, Milan, Paris or Lyon, and remain very rooted while also becoming transnational (both physically and virtually).

Transnational mobile managers in this survey seem to be willing to move partly because they are curious about the world and share some cosmopolitan views. Others, the majority, move for professional reasons. Capitalism plays an important role: many managers work in large firms where mobility is encouraged; sometimes it is almost compulsory, as is the case in the financial sector. But the story is not just about large firms constraining employees to be mobile. The choice of large firms for managers is also a self-selection process, and the mix between constraint and choice to move to another country is not easy to disentangle. Of course, the globalisation of capitalism plays a role in driving increased mobility, but that is not the whole story; some

managers express strong cosmopolitan views and are willing to be mobile, and many are willing to make friends outside their own country.

All in all, physical transnational mobility is not very strong among managers in the four European cities, even if mobility seems to be on the rise. After all, those managers have rather good professional situations, strong social and family networks within the cities they choose and a relatively good income. Social mobility is often closely related to spatial mobility and that still seems to be the case in the national framework for some of those managers, as the 'partial exit' strategies for professional reasons show. Recchi and Favell's (2009, p. 93) conclusion on the social mobility of mobile Europeans applies here: 'the question of whether geographical mobility within the unified space of the EU may offer new possibilities to ambitious social climbers escaping entrenched national social hierarchies remains open', hence the emphasis on studying the 'partial exit' strategies of our informants. More mobile managers are willing to move, are looking for better situations or are constrained to move; others like the idea but do not really do it and stay within their 'comfort zone', probably a rational choice after all.

Transnationalisation is not just about mobility, and our managers overwhelmingly rate globalisation as a major trend for the future. Their children, the school system, the government and the country as a whole should be ready and prepared to adapt to the changes it brings. Managers are, in fact, doing their best to prepare their children: they send them abroad whenever they can and teach them languages, sometimes in an almost obsessive way. They have friends in different countries, and they can exchange experiences, visits, children and resources. Networks of friends are a powerful vehicle for transnationalisation, again probably developing in an incremental way.

Transnational Mobility as a New Cleavage Among the Upper-Middle Classes

Does transnationalisation matter, and if so, for what exactly? Some elements to support the hypothesis that transnationalisation may become a new social cleavage in European societies (and quite probably beyond Europe as well) were provided. Kriesi *et al.* (2008) identify three mechanisms generating winners and losers of globalisation: economic competition, differentiating actors on different markets; cultural diversity, given the increased ethnic differences related to migration fluxes; and increasing political competition between nation states. Interests are central, but many managers are not clear losers or winners in this process, and they are not entirely sure about where their interests lie. Some managers clearly see the interest of going transnationally mobile to increase their value on the labour market, and to return ('partial exit'), but as was made clear in some interviews in Milan, they are also aware of the fact that leaving their city means leaving existing social networks and resources back home. The choice between long-term potential benefit and short-term costs is not easily made or necessarily rational. The argument more clearly applies in cases where the labour market situation is blocked, as for younger managers or women. Most of the time, transnationalisation does not yet appear as a clear-cut social cleavage but rather adds a layer of complexity or division to the existing social structure.

The distinction between three profiles of manager discussed in Chapter 3 according to the transnationalisation index (high, medium and low transnational managers) does indicate some elements towards a social differentiation process in the making. In a nuanced way, those results give credit to the 'transnationalisation and or mobility as

a cleavage thesis' as expressed in different ways by Kriesi *et al.* (1995). The social world of the more transnational managers is slightly different from that for the rest of the managers, not in a radical way, but there are certain significant differences.

- They are more supportive of globalisation and have a more market-friendly attitude.
- They tend to have more friends and acquaintances abroad, and their relations with those friends appear to be more recent.
- They express more culturally liberal opinions.
- They have less trust in public institutions, whatever the scale level.

Does this point towards the rise of new barbarians? Not at all. More transnational managers are also deeply rooted in their city. Transnationalisation makes little difference when accounting for the degree of rootedness of managers, the choices they make in their residential trajectories. Managers are profoundly rooted in the city, and some of them add a transnational dimension in their strategies that plays more in relation to the nation state.

These results are therefore mixed. On the one hand, the group of more transnational managers (virtual and mobile) is different from the rest in terms of values, and they have more dynamic networks abroad. On the other hand, they are as rooted in their city as the others. These results are quite consistent and comparable in the four cities (with some local specificities and nuances). Therefore, it is tempting, if not to generalise, at least to speculate. Transnationalisation does make a difference, and there is a group of managers that is distancing itself from the rest of the managers. In other words, in relation to some criteria, those managers might be seen as a distinct group who may or may not get organised. However, the cleavage with the rest of the managers is present, and one can only imagine how this translates in terms of conflict about existing norms and priorities in firms, and organisations of various sorts. On the other hand, other dimensions related to territorialisation are not influenced by transnationalisation. For the time being, and according to our findings about social groups and territory, transnationalisation is not a structural cleavage of European societies, but it does contribute to a process of social differentiation, a rather slow incremental process that has to be qualified over time and across different groups.

What is not clear either from our data is the direction of causality. It may be the case that transnationalisation leads to more distance from national norms and institutions. It may also be the case that those managers have become more transnational because they already had values that differed from national norms. Although we do not have the precise evidence to answer this, we would rather support both arguments. In the interviews, those managers who have become more transnational often insist on their interest in the world and appear more critical towards their national society. There is also a strong self-selecting effect among the more transnational managers.

Globalisation and Selective Rootedness, Not Cosmopolitan Versus Locals: Managers Settled Among Families and Friends

Linked to the 'mobility against society' argument, there is the disembeddedness of mobile population argument. In other words, too much flexibility or mobility erodes classic social relations, hence the rise of rootless individuals: 'At the top of this new

capitalist system, the global inhabitants of modern cities tend to use the city as a space for economic activity without any desire to participate as citizens' (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, pp. 45–46). This perspective emphasises indifference to a specific territory; the world is seen as an undifferentiated urban space. This world may reflect the life of the richest 1% of the world, (i.e. the 'class consciousness of frequent travellers' identified by Calhoun), but it does not reflect by any means the life of the managers of our sample. It may be the case that 'barbarians' did not appear in the sample or that this is a transnational myth only concerning, in fact, a very small number of upper-class young people. Alternatively, barbarians may not show up in Paris, Milan, Madrid and Lyon, while they choose to live in contexts more favourable to a 'barbarian' way of life, such as London or Hong Kong.

Managers in Lyon, Madrid, Milan and Paris are deeply rooted, settled and territorialised in their cities and neighbourhoods (more the city or urban area than the neighbourhood but nevertheless also at that more micro-local level). Whether they live in the suburbs or (even more so if they live) in the city centre, the majority of managers are deeply rooted through different combinations of practices, notably their choice of neighbourhood largely explained by the existence of family and friends, and their intense social life in the same urban area. They often have long-term residential strategies involving the wish to be close to family (very close in Milan, close with some distance in Lyon or Madrid) as well as inheritance. Half of the managers of our sample have never left the urban area they originally come from. They use public services and manage to exert a certain degree of control over those services in order to adapt them to their own needs. There are traces of privatisation in some sections (particularly visible in the domain of education for their children¹), but most of them use public services and transport, and enjoy city life and cultural amenities. Evidence of pressure on those services exists, and some managers in the wealthiest suburbs may feel some secession temptation, but that is more the exception than the norm. Interestingly for us, many managers have moved to a different country for a period of time but returned, very often to the same place they had left. Also, the analysis of networks provides depth and shows that managers' friends often go back a long way (5, 10, sometimes 30 years), far away from the image of floating individuals.

The level of homophily of their local, national or transnational networks has surfaced strongly in Chapter 4. Horizontal networks are quite diverse in spatial terms but intensely socially homogeneous: a classic result but rather extreme within our sample. Four out of five friends (often long-lasting relationships) of interviewees have a comparable social position and educational background. The managers in our sample also tend to have general access (through strong ties) to high-status social relations.

Although managers do not tend to segregate or isolate themselves from the social fabric (with some rare exceptions), this does not mean that they are nice *bobos* (bourgeois-bohemian) mixing with everyone in their neighbourhoods, irrespective of social or ethnic background. As the middle or upper-middle classes usually do, they promote their interests by controlling their environment. Instead of a rigid logic of social and urban secession (or even gentrification), managers have the resources and intention to play a skilful game of control and proximity. Managers' social networks, as already pointed out, clearly exemplify this control: they mostly comprise other managers. Their social networks and their friends are mainly from the same social groups, wherever they may have met: in the neighbourhood, at primary school (in particular in Milan), as students (in particular in Paris and Madrid) or at work. The degree of self-selection

is very high. The extension of social worlds and the importance of friends living in foreign countries do not go against this classic social logic: this supports the progressive making of a partly transnational middle or upper-middle class.

What appears as most striking in urban terms is the capacity of managers not to reject interactions with different social and ethnic groups, but to choose those domains and keep them under strict control (for themselves or, even more so, for their children). They accept some degree of encounters in public spaces, some mixing in public services, even at school, but within limits they choose. If a manager has considerable knowledge about a mixed area and resources, they can adapt well, using public services in a rather extensive manner, or limiting some types of interaction and mobilising limited resources outside the area. Power relations are always there, and managers are very aware of their capacity to be part of, to benefit and to shape their urban environment and the services they use. Nevertheless, despite different day-to-day practices, most of them would be happy to live in a safe, prestigious middle-class enclave.

Within the city centre, the choice of neighbourhood is seen as less crucial than in the suburbs. Most managers have good reasons to choose their neighbourhoods, but most could move to another area. Their selection is more honed in the case of suburbs, in particular for those a little further away from the city centre. They use the city centre for some services, such as health or education, and for private services, such as culture or restaurants. Their social life is more rooted at the same time at two levels. This is very similar to Bacqué and Biewener's (2013) results in the Noisy le Grand suburb of Paris, where the middle classes use Paris to compensate for the lack of services and business adapted to their own taste and needs, hence leading them to keep their social distance from local residents.

Family, family, family

Family ties beyond the nuclear family do not figure prominently in urban sociology. They almost do not appear in the analysis of urbanisation process or in gentrification studies.² Family, it seems, only plays a role for ethnic communities, or when anthropologists have a closer look at social practices in the territory. However, Wellman *et al.*'s (2008) systematic analysis of networks did make the point when he stressed the declining relevance of communities, together with the resilience of family networks. Families have figured prominently in this research. Residential choice, in particular, has proved to be very strongly influenced, if not determined, by family ties. Managers in European cities have intense interactions with some members of their family at different scales: sometimes the neighbourhood, the city, often the urban region, but also the larger region. We found evidence of this in the network analysis, as well as in the support managers receive from their families in all sorts of circumstances. Family networks, beyond the nuclear family, are central to the social life of managers within cities.

This should not come as a surprise one might say, as Italy, Spain and France are well known for having strong family structures, a left-over of late industrialisation and the resistance of the former peasantry. Also, contemporary sociology of family has decisively shown how new forms of family restructuring (separations, decline of authority, recomposed families) are enlarging the space of autonomy for individuals (including children) to choose among parents, grandparents, uncles or cousins and in-laws with whom to develop more intense and systematic relations (Barbagli *et al.*, 2003; Naldini and Saraceno, 2013; Segalen and Martial, 2013). Beyond the classic analysis of

close family ties (typically the grandmother looking after her grandchildren while her daughter works), there is a web of ties that are spatially organised and explain residential choices and use of the city in different (more or less subtle) ways. This also applies to transnational practices, of course. Some of our managers visited foreign cities for the first time to visit their family or children who were studying or working there.

The centrality of family cannot be just explained by the (lack of) welfare state, as the French case (belonging to the corporatist welfare type) is considerably different from the other two countries included in this comparison (which belong to the Mediterranean welfare type). The question remains whether the results would have been different in Germany, Hungary or Sweden. This has to be verified, but clearly urban scholars have largely neglected the role of family in urban life (in residential choices, for instance) or have highlighted its declining importance, while interactions linked to family ties continue to appear as central in the social life and urban practices of the managers of our sample.

The role of friends has also emerged quite strongly in this study: managers have a strong core of long-lasting relations, and frequently see their friends in those European cities. This has a significant impact also on the choice of neighbourhood of residence, for instance, and on their attachment to the place where they live (the city, in particular). This is yet another factor that accounts for the fact that the social life of those managers is strongly rooted at the city and/or urban regional scale.

These findings are in open contradiction with some of the urban sociology literature: managers are not disembedded from classic territorialised social relations. When mentioning elites, Sennett (2008, pp. 45–46) made two points about the dialectics of flexibility and indifference:

At the top of this new capitalist system, the global inhabitants of modern cities tend to use the city as a space for economic activity without any desire to participate as citizens. ... Indifference about physical spaces, I could be here or anywhere ..., a regime of differences that are non-interactive ..., you get a regime of geographical, educational and even to some extent leisure segregation in which class, race and ethnic differences are managed in the city by principles of non interaction. ... Difference produces indifference.

The first point of that statement clearly does not apply to the managers interviewed in this study. Forms of 'elective' or 'selective belonging' are crucial for managers; their narratives clearly reveal why they live in a certain place (city or neighbourhood), showing equally well 'that a certain place' could not be anywhere else, because it is full of social meaning for them owing to family ties, friendship, places (schools, services, leisure) they know well. By contrast, what we called the control of distance and proximity is similar to what Sennett argues for as far as the managing of differences. The narratives of managers stress that differences result in 'non-interactions', which do not signal indifference but rather express avoidance, a precise strategy within power relations.

Managers resemble classic European urban bourgeoisies: they have a dense network of friends and families in the city, they invest resources in the city, they use public and private services and they stay either in the centre or in the suburb, but that does not prevent them from being active in the city. They have rather clear views on the services they want, and they are ready to engage in the public arena if necessary to improve the services they are using. They accept the diversity of the urban fabric, providing they can control the rules of the game, and they use resources and power when required.

What Do We Learn from the Comparison?

Throughout the chapters, we stressed how European societies continue to be deeply national societies. It is becoming common to look towards Europe as a unit of analysis when seen from far away—Sydney, Johannesburg or Vancouver—but it took centuries to structure those national societies. These are partly eroding, the national scale is somehow less determinant, but it certainly has not disappeared, and these social structures still matter for explaining individual and collective strategies. We have tried to strike a balance between the European and urban dimension, and the national ones in our analysis.

The choice of cities and comparison between them (see Introduction and Chapter 1) is important because so much of the urban literature, and the generalisation within it, is based upon cities such as New York, London, Los Angeles, Hong Kong, Shanghai and a few others, including Paris sometimes. This study compares dynamic European cities from the south-west corner of the continent, cities that are not often mentioned in the literature but are part of the backbone of the EU and contribute to understanding contemporary dynamics of change in the European context.

Despite entrenched national differences (social structure, representations, institutions), the comparison showed similar dynamics and characteristics among this fraction of upper-middle classes analysed. The comparison stressed that the same dynamics of explanation of transnationalism/rootedness are at play ('partial exit') and that the way managers use and live in the city is very comparable. In other words, mechanisms of social change are taking place beyond national boundaries, and this is a crucial phenomenon to highlight. The focus of this study was therefore on this big picture stemming from managers' individual strategies, rather than the cities (and neighbourhoods) themselves, and this aspect might require more work. There are several interesting and counter-intuitive results in relation to the representation of cities and managers' strategies, though.

First, in terms of transnational indicators, a continuum appears between Paris, on one end of the spectrum, and Lyon, at the other extreme, and this was expected and implicit in the choice of cities. In other words, *the level of transnationalisation of managers is related to the degree of transnationalisation of the city in which they live*, as well as to its economic structure. The relation seemed clear a priori: one factor favourable for transnational mobility is that managers worked for transnational firms. Paris, the centre of a very economically centralised country, is the gateway for the French economy, where a good deal of exchange with the rest of the world is done. With Paris being part of the upper tier of the most globalised cities, managers working in this city are more likely to have become more transnational, to have met more foreigners as students or colleagues at work and to maintain dense networks with people coming from or living abroad.

The results shown in Chapter 3 do not confirm this straightforward relation, though. As the radars synthesising different dimensions of transnationalism show, Milan and Madrid are ahead of Paris, and Lyon is clearly far behind. Managers in Milan and Madrid are transnational on different dimensions and more mobile for work. Parisians are not particularly mobile for work because managers from the rest of Europe often come to Paris for meetings. The concentration of headquarters of large organisations make Paris a hub, attracting managers from the rest of the country, Europe or beyond; hence less pressure is put on Parisian managers to travel for work. Milanese managers actually travel quite a lot, but they seem to be doing so quite reluctantly. The low

level of transnationalisation in Lyon is rather intriguing, and our data are not precise enough to say anything more. There may be a 'French effect', and those French managers are just less transnationalised than their counterparts in Milan and Madrid. As our sample is not representative, there could also be a bias in the sample, further stressing a tendency towards a lower level of exposure to transnational influences.

Another interesting contrast between managers of those cities is the 'internal mobility effect'. In French cities, managers were more often born outside the metropolitan area, while in Madrid and Milan, this was less the case. In terms of networks, this led to more social diversity, as some friends or families remained in the original village, and this might mirror the higher residential stability characterising southern Mediterranean countries, even when the two cities under consideration (Madrid and Milan) represent an important pole of attraction for both educational reasons (as they are the site for some of the most important national higher-education institutions) and work reasons. Again, the development and structures of 'globalised cities' are still also very much explained and articulated by long-term national characteristics. The urban literature is replete with analysis of circulations and networks making cities irrelevant. Our findings in those four cities rather signal the strong inheritance of social and political structures, slowly changing in relation to circulations and flux.

Particular representations of cities also emerge from our analysis. Milan is often the most striking case in social networks. Comparative analysis of European social structures always signals the strength of the family and local networks in Italy. But Milan is sometimes portrayed as a more 'English' city within Italy, where those traditional social structures would be less at play, with more autonomy (or isolation) from the family. Milan is certainly one of the richest European urban regions and economically dynamic, with powerful and dynamic SME firms, banks and large corporate headquarters. However, from the point of view of managers, Milan remained profoundly Italian. We found the highest density of interaction with friends and families, deep rootedness, low spatial mobility and very long-term relationships with best friends. We found several very transnational managers but also quite a few immobile managers. Milanese managers also seem to be more reluctant to move. In Italian terms, Milanese managers express lower levels of trust towards institutions and the state. Family clearly remains the crucial factor for explaining the reproduction of social inequalities, and of (both social and spatial) mobility patterns. Family appears much more important for the upper-middle classes than for the lower classes, and this is because the lower classes have fewer resources in terms of economic or financial capital, as well as in terms of high-status relations to dispose of, while the upper-middle classes can rely on these assets to reproduce and upgrade their original social position. Italian familism is alive, pervasive within society and crucial to an understanding of the dynamics of social change. It takes new forms, including for modernist fractions of the upper-middle classes in the most globalised and economically advanced city. Milanese managers were looking towards Paris and London for models and ideas. Beyond this, in the rich suburbs of Milan, and by contrast with other cities, secession trends were more noticeable.

Seen through the eyes of managers, Lyon appears as more regional but in close connection to Paris, Geneva and the north of Italy. We noticed that more or less all the managers in Lyon who did not come from Lyon had roots in the region or their partner did. Lyon appeared very rooted in the Rhône Alpes region. Not many managers worked for large firms, and the level of transnationalisation was much lower than in the other cities. Opposition to globalisation trends was also more marked.

Madrid is an interesting and sometimes intriguing mix in our survey, with average results on most indicators but with a clearly transnational profile among its managers. It is a capital city and clearly mentioned by the managers of our sample as a key factor in their residential and professional strategies, since it determines the functioning of the labour market, for both public and private sectors. We also noticed increasing emphasis on education, in bilingual schools for young children, and more sympathy for a British style, a more liberal model of society. Some trends towards social and urban secession also appeared in the rich suburbs, where relatively segregated communities were looked at with considerable interest by many managers, regardless of whether they still lived in the city centre or had moved to more peripheral areas of the city.

Paris appeared in the survey as more globalised in some ways but less so in others. The neighbourhood dimension was not strong for those living in the centre. Parisian managers clearly articulate the fact that they want to have the best of both worlds: to be rooted and enjoy life with friends and family in the city, with opportunities to travel the world and mix with other people when they want. These findings also reflect some classic features of the French model, including the role of *Grandes Ecoles* in training managers, as well as fierce competition to access good schools for children. The game of 'relative mixity under strict control' was particularly obvious in the case of Paris. In terms of values, Parisian managers seemed also less convinced by the British model and more attracted by Scandinavia, perceived as a good balance of economic competitiveness, sustainable development and a protective welfare state.

One way to strengthen our arguments was to position our findings in relation to the work of Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst in Manchester, as well as Butler in London. The differences between our results and those regarding Manchester are striking. The research in Manchester showed the low level of urban interactions with friends and family (this last aspect in a particularly spectacular way). It also showed how transnational networks pointed towards the US or Australia, with continental Europe nowhere to be seen (except for holidays). The 'elective belonging' logic depicted by Savage and colleagues in Manchester contrasts with the strength of family and support networks we observe in the European cases included in this study, where managers have an active social life.

In a way, this is not so surprising. As far as the sociology of family is concerned, England is well known for the early rise of the 'free Englishmen' and early dynamics of individualisation. The enclosure movement and industrialisation eradicated peasantry as an important social group, and the maintenance of large family ties often went together with peasantry. Comparative studies have often pointed to the low level of family networks and support in the UK in comparative terms, in contrast to Italy or France, for instance. Researchers on poverty always argued that it was better to be poor in Napoli than in Glasgow (the two western European cities with the highest poverty rates in the 1970s) because, among other things, in Napoli the poor could rely more often on informal support networks with the family at its core. Also, it was argued that English cities (with some exceptions) had been more structured by industrialisation and deindustrialisation and did not correspond to the ideal type of the European city identified by Le Galès (2002). In other words, in England, more than anywhere else in Europe, market and state were powerful forces for getting rid of traditional social structures and intermediary organisations (Black, 1984; Crouch, 1993). The implementation of the Thatcherite neo-liberal political project pushed Britain more towards a

market society than anybody else in Europe. Therefore, the stark contrast we identified between managers in our cities and those in Manchester is not so surprising after all. However, this cannot be generalised. Both Savage and Butler have indicated to us that the situation in London might not be so different from in Paris. Also, Manchester is not Britain, since it was marked by migration and close to other northern England industrial cities that the middle classes left because of the domination of the working classes.³ It may be the case that in Scotland, or in the south-east of England, the middle classes might be far more rooted than in Manchester. More empirical research on this point should be carried out to better understand differences and similarities among the different cities and societies.

As is often the case, the limits of this research are only too obvious, and we can only ask several additional questions. The first limitation of the study is to do with the sample. Armed with our results, we would now feel more confident to assemble a representative sample in different countries. Our variables are clearer now, and some mechanisms were dismissed (mobility against rootedness). Also, one wonders whether transnational mobility might be a more relevant cleavage for the top 5% of the population. Questions about increasing differences between the upper tier of our sample and the lower tier were not examined systematically, and more should be done in this direction in relation to transnational mobility. Also, a complete survey would include those who stay abroad in order to compare them with those who returned or never moved.

Finally, it would be fascinating to compare our findings with those from other European cities from Athens to Helsinki, Budapest to Glasgow. We suspect that many findings make a lot of sense in different European cities, but this has to be tested with empirical research. Also, the link between transnationalism and rootedness of the middle class is not particular to Europe, and one could dream of similar research in India or Mexico.

The Future of Urban Europeans?

What does this research tell us about European cities and their transformation? First, it reinforces the analysis and results about the territorialisation and rootedness of European societies and cities, at least as far as upper-middle classes are concerned. Second, we have shown how managers have quite European/globalised minds. They are advocating changes towards a more market society while expressing concerns for the future of the welfare state and the environment.

In terms of social change, what is more striking is what we interpret as slow but systematic incremental change over time and space. European managers seemed very disillusioned by the EU (our interviews were carried out immediately before and during the first year of the financial crisis) but were at ease with some sort of European identity. They are not very mobile, and this mobility is determined by proximity; they first go next door as they visit cities all over Europe. Most of our managers have friends abroad and mostly in Europe. Younger people are more transnational than older people (but not by a huge margin). Our results support Fligstein's view that as far as the middle classes are concerned, European societies are slowly on the move, with networks, interactions and values stretching far beyond national boundaries, even if they remain firmly rooted in their home societies and cities. Yet, is this change going to continue and be systematic?

The crisis looks increasingly like a lost decade for Europe, with tensions accumulating. It is not clear whether the model of slow, incremental Europeanisation will progressively prevail in most social groups over 30 more years, or whether reactions against the outside, globalisation or European elites will lead to more profound division between the educated, more transnational middle classes and elites versus the rest. In their book on Britain, *Culture, Class, Distinction* (Bennett *et al.*, 2009), the authors signal a wide gap between senior and lower managers in the UK. Elites might already be dis-embedded, but our findings in the European cities we studied show little willingness for urban secession and weaker rootedness in cities and national societies among our managers. However, the politics of austerity leads to more structural long-term unemployment, less state capacity for redistribution and increased inequalities. These are conditions that might accelerate change and processes of social differentiation. Scores of young educated Italians, Spaniards or Greeks are leaving their countries. Will they return? Will the 'partial exit' dominant rationale survive if the labour market is closed? European societies were robust and protected their citizens through the welfare state. Tensions are accumulating, though, and the crisis has exacerbated old problems. Our managers have expressed strong views in the direction in which they expect change to take place, and that may bring more conflict. In the twentieth century, severe economic crisis led to profound changes during both the 1930s and the 1980s. The days of slow incremental Europeanisation of societies may be gone. If austerity policies, increased marketisation and inequalities lead the elites and upper-middle classes to go global, and some groups to retreat and shelter within the nation states, what will be left of urban Europe?

Notes

- 1 It is not significant in the case of Milan, even if suburban managers may occasionally develop strategies (inevitably familial strategies) to have their children educated in central Milan schools or in private ones. In Madrid, the rise of early years schools in English or German is a very clear choice in order to accumulate resources and networks, or social capital in the terms of Bourdieu. In Lyon, but more importantly in Paris, education has become a major issue.
- 2 Some exceptions exist in relation to financial help (Bell, 1968) and migrant studies, though these studies do not refer to urbanisation processes,
- 3 Thanks to Mike Savage and Tim Butler for making these points.

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Methodological Appendix

How Managers Were Selected

An important element in the selection of respondents was to avoid any snowball effect—i.e. selecting respondents who are personally connected with one another—even while not aiming for a representative sample. The emphasis on networks demands avoiding interviewing people who know each other and have similar social practices, friends or values. In each city and neighbourhood, a different set of entry points was thus used to contact managers who met the selection criteria.

In Milan, six entry points to select the interviewees were used. First was the public list of the engineers (those who passed a national examination after their MA degree). This published list includes addresses and phone numbers of engineers living in Milan and its suburbs. A letter was sent to all those living in the selected neighbourhoods explaining the aim of the research, and then they were telephoned. Thirteen engineers per neighbourhood were recruited by this entry point. Second, the *ManagerItalia*¹ association was contacted. The association contacted some of their members directly asking whether they were available for interview, and 15 names from this association were recruited. Third, the alumni association of Politecnico University was contacted, and following the same procedure, 10 names were recruited. Fourth, primary and low secondary public and private schools were contacted. The research was explained to teachers and a letter distributed to the pupils' parents asking whether they were available for an interview if they matched the criteria put forward. Twenty-six respondents were recruited by this entry point. Fifth, managers of the public services in the selected areas were contacted, the research was explained, and five names were recruited. Sixth, the door-to-door technique was used, mainly in the mixed central area and homogeneous suburban area. In Arese, gated communities still have a list of names at the entrance for the intercom,

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names were copied, and a letter was sent explaining the research. These people were contacted and asked whether they matched the criteria set for the research. Twelve respondents were recruited by this entry point.

In Paris and its suburbs, the selection took different forms. We started by asking all sorts of people for any contacts in the neighbourhood we selected. An optician gave us some names in the 15th, we had access to all the inhabitants of some buildings in the 10th, many contacts gave us one or two names in the neighbourhoods we selected, providing a third to a half of the names we needed.

Concerned about snowball effects, we always started with three or four people who could point to different groups. We arranged interviews with managers working in hospitals, the public services and local authorities. In Lyon, in the 17th, in Le Vésinet, we obtained many contacts through the school and parents' associations. In the 17th, in Fontenay sous Bois and in the 15th, we also used some groups to organise two or three interviews from a neighbourhood council in the Catholic parish (possibly slightly too much in Fontenay). Sometimes, we talked to people in cafés or railway stations. To complete the list, for about 10% of our interviewees we used the alumni directory of various masters and Grandes Écoles, in particular in Lyon, in the 17th, in Fontenay sous Bois.

In Lyon, many managers have a degree from one of the top higher-education institutions (French Grandes Ecoles). We used their directories including (École Centrale Paris, an engineering school delivering masters), EMLYON Business School (a leading business school), IDRAC École Supérieure de Commerce (another business school) and Institut d'Études Politiques Lyon (administration, politics, business). Managers were selected in relation to the neighbourhood and their jobs, and this information was available in the directories. Information about their income was then checked out. On top of this, as in Paris, we used all sorts of formal and informal networks to complete the sample with names mentioned in all sorts of ways through contacts.

In the case of Madrid, the first entry point to locating potential managers in the four neighbourhoods was the personal networks of the different people who were involved in the process of interviewing. This accounted for roughly 40% of the total interviews included in this research. After that source of contacts was exhausted, a series of professional and educational institutions became instrumental for contacting new potential informants with the very specific profile needed. Thus, professional associations that were particularly linked to managerial jobs were approached (engineers, economists, etc.); some accepted to collaborate with this research by contacting those members who, according to their records, were living in the neighbourhoods included in our research, asking them whether they would volunteer to be interviewed. Data-protection legislation prevented them from granting us access to their files, so their involvement in the process of contacting potential informants was central to achieving the very high rate of positive responses received by the members of some of those associations. The collaboration of Madrid's Colegio de Ingenieros de Caminos and Canales y Puertos was especially fruitful in this respect. In addition to professional associations, several Madrid business schools were contacted and invited to collaborate in a similar manner. The alumni association of the Escuela Superior de Administración de Empresas Business School constituted an extremely useful source of contacts. Finally, the directory of the alumni association of the La Caixa scholarships also proved extremely useful in our efforts to locate managers willing to volunteer their time for this research project.

Chapter 3

Indices of transnationalism and rootedness

Transnationalism = $(2 * \text{JOBMOB}) + (1.33 * \text{POSMOB}) + (1.33 * \text{watching foreign TV}) + ((1.33 * \text{businessstrips}_3) / 4) * ((1.33 * \text{tourismtrips}_2) / 4) + ((1.33 * \text{known_cities}) / 4) + (1.33 * \text{foreign languages} / 4)$.

JOBMOB = respondent spent longer than 6 months abroad (yes/no)

POSMOB = possibility to move abroad (yes/no)

The variable JOBMOB weights more than the others, as we think that living abroad is a very important experience for transnationalism and has a greater impact than only short-distance travelling.

Rootedness = $(1.14 * \text{placeofbirth}) + ((1.14 * (\text{residence_ville} * \text{residence_ville}) / 49)) + ((2 * (\text{residence_neigh} * \text{residence_neigh}) / 49)) + (1.14 * \text{use_garden}) + (1.14 * \text{use_sport}) + (1.14 * \text{use_library}) + (1.14 * \text{use_rest}) + (1.14 * \text{use_coiffeur})$.

Place birth = the respondent is born in the region (yes/no)

Residence_ville = how long the respondent has been living in the city (1: <1 year; 2: 1–3 years; 3: 4–5 years; 4: 6–10 years; 5: 7–15 years; 6: 16–20 years; 7: always)

Residence_neigh = how long the respondent has been living in the neighbourhood (1: <1 year; 2: 1–3 years; 3: 4–5 years; 4: 6–10 years; 5: 7–15 years; 6: 16–20 years; 7: always)

Use_garden = respondent uses the garden of the neighbourhood (yes/no)

Use_sport = respondent uses some sport facilities of the neighbourhood (yes/no)

Use_library = respondent uses some sport facilities of the neighbourhood (yes/no)

The variables Residence_ville and Residence_neigh have been squared to give more weight to categories 6 and 7, i.e. those that indicate a longer stay in the city and the neighbourhood.

Chapter 4: Sample of the Occupations to Construct the Status Generator Table

The position-generator technique measures the network resources available for an individual, starting from the assumption that the possession of valued resources follows a hierarchical distribution: the higher the level in the hierarchy, the lower the number of positions and occupants (Lin, 1982).² The position-generator technique is based on a sample of structural positions that are salient in a society (occupations, sector, authority, prestige) and asks respondents to indicate whether they know anyone in each of these positions. The underlying idea is that a person who knows somebody with a particular occupation is very likely to know other people in occupations with a similar occupational prestige/status. From the responses, it then becomes possible to construct indices such as homophily and heterogeneity, and upper reachability (Lin, 2000).

To construct the sample of the occupations, we relied on existing studies of the prestige of occupations in the different countries (de Lillo and Schizzerotto, 1985;

Chambaz *et al.*, 1998; Verhaeghe *et al.*, 2013). The number of positions sampled in the different studies range from 40 to 8; in his most recent studies, Lin adopts a range between 20 and 12 (see Lin, 2000; Lin and Erikson, 2008). In our analysis, we decided to keep the number of positions rather low, given also the number of issues to cover during the interview and the time available. We ended up with a sample of 16 occupations, encompassing the political, administrative-bureaucratic, economic and religious dimensions, and over-representing the categories in the upper level of the hierarchy. We expected strong homophily and therefore tried to capture the high positions in the different dimensions (economic, political, administrative, and religious) so as to determine whether our respondents could access different sets of valued resources and whether their social capital functions as a bridge between different social and economic sectors. As the literature on social capital and social networks suggests (see, for instance, Granovetter, 1973, 2000), the capacity to bridge different social networks and different spheres of exchange is crucial for gaining and accessing further resources.

To select the occupations, we relied on previous studies (Lin, 2000; Lin and Erikson, 2008). The prestige occupations' scale is slightly different in the three countries, in particular regarding some occupations such as the political and administrative ones (in Italy, they have a lower score compared with France), although we decided to rely on the international prestige occupation scale for the scores to be comparable (Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale) (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 1996, 2003).

The occupations sampled were as follows: lawyer (score 73), university professor (78), head of public bureau (63), entrepreneur (70), professional engineer (65) secondary-school teacher (60), technical skilled employee (48), politician (71), craftsman (46), policeman (40), truck driver (33), unskilled worker (21), farmer (38), priest or similar in other religions (60), bishop or similar (68) in other religions, mechanic (43).

Resource Generator Technique

The 'Resource Generator' technique asks about access to a list of resources, each representing a vivid, concrete sub-collection of social resources, together covering several domains of life. It has the same basic questionnaire structure as the position generator: the availability of each of these resources is checked by measuring the tie strength through which the resources are accessed, indicated by the role of these ties (partner, family members, friends, colleagues, acquaintances). The list of specific resource items to be included may vary across populations (Van der Gaag and Snijders, 2004, p. 7). Given that our sample is made up of managers, we selected a set of situations that could fit our sample, trying to cover, as in the case of the position technique, several domains and dimensions, to determine their capacity of connection and linkage. The set of situations covers the emotional, professional (also via recommendation), financial, health and care, education, leisure and free-time support.

Notes

- 1 ManagerItalia is an association representing 'dirigenti' and 'quadri' (including professionals) from the tertiary sector (sales and transport). It aims to promote the importance of managers and 'management culture' in the Italian context.

- 2 Lin stresses that any existing social structure reflects a complexity that involves multiple hierarchical structures over many different kinds of valued resources. The uneven distribution of these various valued resources (in the economic, social and political dimensions) forms the basis of hierarchical structures, and each valued resource defines a particular hierarchy. However, these hierarchies tend towards congruence and transferability (Lin, 2000, p. 37).

Questionnaire: Urban Upper-Middle Classes

Sex _____

Age _____

Professional Trajectory and Current Employment

1. What is your profession? Could you describe the nature of your job?

2. Could you describe your professional trajectory?

(OPEN) Including:

Degrees _____

Experiences abroad _____

Current employer _____

Public or private sector _____

How did you find your first job? And the last one? _____

How many people are you responsible for at work? _____

Where is your job located? _____

Comments: _____

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3. What is your normal work schedule?

Including:

How many hours do you work per week? _____

Do you have any free days? _____

How many hours do you have to spend with your family or for your own leisure pursuits? _____

4. We often talk about globalisation and Europeanisation. Do those processes have any effect on your career?

Including interests and risks perceived: _____

5. Would you be ready to move abroad if your employer asked you to?

6. Which country would you like to move to, independently of your current employer?

7. On average, how long does it take you to get to work from home?

8. How do you usually travel to work?

Car	
Bus	
Metro	
Train	
Motorcycle or scooter	
Bicycle	
Walking	

9. Have you got a car? Which model is it?

Residential Trajectory

10. What is your family situation? (including children not living at home any more)

	Sex	Age	Birthplace	Living as a couple	Family situation	Degree	Profession	Place of residence
Interviewee								
Partner								
Child 1								
Child 2								
Child 3								
-								

11. Where did you meet your partner? When was that?

12. For how long have you been living ...:

	In the region	In this city	In this neighbourhood
1. <1 year			
2. For 3 years			
3. For 5 years			
4. For 10 years			
5. For 15 years			
6. For 20 years			
7. Always			

13. Which are the main places where you lived before?

(OPEN) Including:

Where? _____

For how long? _____

Why did you move? _____

Comments: _____

14. Type of dwelling

1. Apartment	
2. Individual home	

15. What is the square surface area of your home (in m²)?

16. In relation to your home, do you...?

1. Own it	
2. Rent it	
3. Sublet it	
4. Lodge for free	

17. According to you, which are the main advantages of living in this region?

What needs improving in this region?

18. Why did you choose to live in this city?

19. Why did you end up settling in this neighbourhood? Did you choose it among other options?

(OPEN) Including:

Price? _____

The neighbourhood? _____

Which neighbourhoods were you trying to avoid? _____

Comments: _____

20. Do you like living in this neighbourhood? What are the positive and negative aspects of this neighbourhood?

21. Which other neighbourhoods would you have liked to live in?

(Names) _____

22. Did you take your children into consideration when making your residential choices? In what way?

23. Did you take your partner into consideration when making your residential choices? In what way?

24. Do you experience a feeling of insecurity when you come back home late at night? Do you avoid specific areas of your neighbourhood?

25. Do you know the name of the mayor of your town?

26. Are you planning on moving in the next 5 years?

1. Yes	
2. No	

Why? _____

Where? _____

27. Are you already planning on buying another apartment/house?

1. Yes	
2. No	

28. Where would you like to move to?

29. Do you own a secondary residence?

30. Where?

Networks

Family networks

31. How many brothers and sisters do you have?

	Sex	Age	Place of residence	Family situation	Frequency of phone interaction	Frequency of visits	Degree	Profession
					1. Every day 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. Once every 2 weeks 5. Several times a month 6. Once a month 7. Several times a year 8. Never			
Mother	F							
Father	M							

Neighbour networks

32. How many times did you invite your neighbours to your house over the last 6 months?

1. To dinner	
2. For a snack	
3. For coffee/tea	
4. No	

If you answered yes to any of the previous questions, fill in Table 1.

33. How many times did your neighbours invite you over to their place over the last 6 months?

1. To dinner	
2. For a snack	
3. For coffee/tea	
4. No	

If you answered yes to any of the previous questions, fill in Table 1.

34. Did you ask any of your neighbours for a favour over the last month?

1. Yes	
2. No	

If yes, specify the type of favour you asked for: _____

If yes fill in Table 1.

35. Did any of your neighbours ask you for a favour over the last month?

1. Yes	
2. No	

If yes, specify the type of favour you were asked for: _____

If yes, fill in Table 1.

36. Do your neighbours ever visit you without warning?

1. Yes	
2. No	

37. How would you describe the relationship you have with your neighbours?

1. No relation	
2. We hate each other	
3. We tolerate each other	
4. We say hi	
5. We exchange information	
6. Cordial	
7. Mutual aid	

38. What kind of people live in this neighbourhood?

How would you define yourself in relation to the average resident in the area?

Friendship networks

39. Could you please name your three best friends and give me some basic information about them?

Fill in Table 2.

40. Do those friends know each other?

1. Yes	
2. No	

41. Do you have friends (no work acquaintances) living abroad?

1. Yes	
2. No	

If yes, fill in Table 2.

42. How often do you invite your friends over to your place for dinner?

1. More than once a week	
2. Once a week	
3. Once every 2 weeks	
4. Several times a month	
5. Once a month	
6. Several times a year	
7. Very rarely	
8. Never	

43. Do you personally know someone among your acquaintances, friends or relatives who has one of the following professions and whom you could easily contact (if you know more than one, refer to the one you have known for longer).

	Relation: 1. Cohabitant 2. Non-cohabitant family 3. Friend 4. Acquaintance 5. Work colleague	Sex	Place of residence	Since when have you known him/her?
1. Lawyer				
2. Police officer				
3. Businessman				
4. Builder				
5. University professor				
6. Engineer				
7. High school teacher				
8. Technician				
9. High-rank civil servant				
10. Politician				
11. Truck driver				
12. Bishop (or similar for other religions)				

(Continued)

	Relation: 1. Cohabitant 2. Non-cohabitant family 3. Friend 4. Acquaintance 5. Work colleague	Sex	Place of residence	Since when have you known him/her?
13. Priest (or similar for other religions)				
14. Mechanic				
15. Postman				
16. Craftsman				

44. Is there someone among your acquaintances, friends or relatives whom you could ask for assistance in the following situations? (if you know more than one, refer to the one you have known for longer)

	Yes/no	Relation: 1. Cohabitant 2. Non-cohabitant family 3. Friend 4. Acquaintance 5. Work colleague	Sex	Age	Since when have you known him/her?	Where did you meet?	Profession	Place of residence
1. Solve a problem at work								
2. Help with moving								
3. Help with small repairs								
4. Shopping when ill								
5. Discuss politics								
6. Obtain medical advice								
7. Get advice for a family problem								
8. Borrow money (e.g. €10,000)								
9. Help to buy sports tickets								
10. Help to buy tickets for an art or cultural event								
11. Take care of children for several days								

(Continued)

45. Over the last 6 months, did you provide assistance in one of the following situations ?

	Yes/no	Relation: 1. Cohabitant 2. Non-cohabitant family 3. Friend 4. Acquaintance 5. Work colleague	Sex	Age	Since when have you known him/her?	Where did you meet?	Profession	Place of residence
1. Solving a problem at work								
2. Help with moving								
3. Help with small repairs								
4. Shopping when ill								
5. Discuss politics								
6. Give medical advice								
7. Give advice for a family problem								
8. Lend money (e.g. €10,000)								
9. Help to buy sports tickets								
10. Help to buy tickets for an art/cultural event								
11. Take care of children for several days								

(Continued)

Practices

46. Do you use any of the following services?

	Use		In the neighbourhood		Frequency: 1. Every day 2. Several times a week 3. Once a week 4. Several times a month 5. Once a month 6. Several times a year
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Kindergarten/nursery					
Primary care doctor					
Post office					
Public transportation					
Public garden/park					
Sports centre 1 _____					
Sports centre 2 _____					
Sports centre 3 _____					
Library					
Restaurant					
Hairdresser					
Club					

47. How often do you go out at night?

1. Every day	
2. Several times a week	
3. Once a week	
4. Several times a month	
5. Once every 2 weeks	
6. Once a month	
7. Several times a year	
8. Never	

48. Over the last month, did you go out? Where?

	Yes/no	How many times	In the neighbourhood?	Outside the neighbourhood?
Restaurant				
Bar, café				
Cinema				
Sports event				
Theatre				
Concert				
Dance				
Museum/ exhibition				

If the interviewee lives on the outskirts of the city

49. Do you often go to the city centre?

1. Yes	
2. No	

If yes, what for? _____

If the interviewee lives in the city centre

50. Do you often go out of the city centre (to places on the outskirts or on the periphery of the city)?

1. Yes	
2. No	

If yes, what for? _____

51. Do you participate in community activities in your neighbourhood?

1. Yes, sports _____	
2. Yes, charitable _____	
3. Yes, cultural _____	
4. Yes, religious _____	
5. Yes, political _____	
6. Yes, other _____	
7. No	

52. Do you participate in community activities outside your neighbourhood?

1. Yes, sports _____	
2. Yes, charitable _____	
3. Yes, cultural _____	
4. Yes, religious _____	
5. Yes, political _____	
6. Yes, other _____	
7. No	

53. How many trips for professional reasons did you go on over the last 12 months?
For how long?

(OPEN) _____

54. Other than for professional reasons, how many trips did you go on over the last 12 months? For how long?

(OPEN) _____

55. How many times did you take a plane over the last month? For what reason?
Where to?

(OPEN) _____

56. Which foreign languages do you speak?

57. Which foreign cities do you know well?

58. Which foreign cities do you like most? Do you go there often?

59. Which newspapers do you read?

60. How often?

1. Every day	
2. Several times a week	
3. Once a week	
4. Several times a month	
5. Once every 2 weeks	
6. Once a month	
7. Several times a year	
8. Never	

61. Which magazines do you read?

62. Which TV channels do you watch?

63. Do you, or anybody in your household own...

	Yes	No
A company		
Shares		
Investment fund		
Real estate property		
Land		

64. Do you have a...

	Yes	No
Laptop		
Tablet		
Alarm at home		
GPS/sat-nav		
Flat-screen TV		

65. Do you usually...

	Yes	No
Shop online		
Buy plane tickets online		
Buy books online		

Children

66. Who are the friends of your children?

Including:

Are they friends from school? _____

Do they live in the same neighbourhood? _____

Did you and/or your partner become friends with the parents of your children's schoolmates? _____

Comments: _____

67. Do your children have extra-curricular activities after school?

1. Yes, in the neighbourhood	
2. Yes, outside the neighbourhood	
3. Non	

68. Which school do your children attend? Why did you choose this school/high-school?
-

69. Do you consider your children's openness to the outside world in their education? How?

School trips only	
Language courses abroad	
Trips and holidays	
Stays abroad with host families	
Stays abroad with family	
Stays abroad with friends	
Using the educational system's resources (bilingual programmes, etc.)	
Early exposure to foreign languages (films in OV, foreign TV channels, etc.)	
Pressure on the school	
Private language classes	
Internships and jobs abroad	
Studying abroad before university	
Studying abroad during their BA	
Guest foreign student/au pair/baby-sitter	
International volunteering	

70. Which foreign languages did your children study?
-

71. In relation to the school system, do you think that ...

It should emphasise discipline and work ethos	
It should promote critical thinking	

Values

72. Do you have the feeling of being/belonging:

Only from your country	
More from your country than European	
Equally European as from your country	
More European than from your country	
Other (do not suggest)	
No answer (do not suggest)	

73. Among the following territorial levels of reference, which do you identify more intensely with? (max. 2 answers)

Neighbourhood	
County	
Metropolitan region	
Country	
Europe	
World	
No answer (do not suggest)	

74. According to you, which are the two main reasons that explain unemployment in your country?

Lack of competitiveness	
Lack of training and skills of job-seekers	
Management of firms	
Situation of the international economy	
Globalisation	
State action	
Lack of capacity of policy-makers	
Large number of immigrants	
Female participation in labour market	
Technological advancement	

75. What is your opinion with respect to the following statements: completely agree (1), mostly agree (2), mostly disagree (3), completely disagree (4)

	1	2	3	4
The number of civil servants should be reduced				
The interests of people like me would be better defended if there were more women in Parliament				
Politicians do not care about people like me				
Trade unions play a positive role in society				
Society needs hierarchy				
Globalisation is an opportunity				
Decentralisation of power towards the regions is a positive development				
Homosexuality is an acceptable way of living a person's sexuality				
Firms are at the forefront of the transformation of society				
Consumption of hashish should be legalised				
Great Britain is better organised to favour economic development				
Trains would work better if they were run by private corporations				
Welfare benefits should be removed from families of those who commit a crime				
Notions of Left and Right no longer mean anything in politics				
Welfare programs should be strengthened to fight against social inequalities				
Arab immigrants living among us will become members of society just like any other				
The presence of immigrant populations contributes to the cultural enrichment of the country				
Undocumented immigrants should be legalised				
The death penalty should be re-established				
There are too many immigrants in this country already				

76. In relation to Europe, which of these sentences reflects your thinking better?

Europe is my country's future	
Europe poses a risk for my country's future	

77. In relation to the European Union, what is your opinion with respect to the following statements: completely agree (1), mostly agree (2), mostly disagree (3), completely disagree (4)

	1	2	3	4
My country contributes more than it receives				
There is less social protection in my country				
We lose our national identity and culture				
My country plays a smaller role in the world				

78. How much confidence do you feel in relation to the following institutions:

	A lot	Quite a lot	Not very much	None
Education system				
European Commission				
Police				
Trade unions				
The State				
Parliament				
European Parliament				
UN				
Justice/legal system				
Army				
Political parties				
Employers' association				
International Court of Justice				

Politics

79. Are you interested in politics?

A lot	
Quite a lot	
A little	
Not at all	
No answer	

80. Over the last 6 months, have you...

	Yes	No
1. Participated in demonstrations		
2. Signed petitions		
3. Attended a political rally		
4. Talked politics with friends		

81. Are you registered for voting?

82. Did you vote in the last regional elections?

83. We generally place people in a political spectrum from 1 to 7. Where would you place yourself on that scale?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extreme-Left		Left		Right		Extreme-Right

84. Which political party do you feel closest to, or less distant from?

Extreme-Left party	
Communist party	
Socialist party	
Green party	
Centre party	
Conservative party	
Extreme-Right party	
Other	

85. Do you think that your national society should be ...

Radically changed	
Changed in some essential aspects	
Reformed, but without changing the essential aspects	
Left as it is	

86. Among the countries that you know, which ones provide models for reform that could be useful to implement in your country?

87. What aspects of your national society would need changing:

88. Do you think your region is well managed? Which would be the main policy issues to change?

89. What is the name of the region where you live?

90. Which political leaders of your country do you follow most closely?

91. And among foreign leaders?

92. What is the name of the President of the European Commission?

93. If you could direct the EU structural funds, would you rather support vulnerable groups:

In your region	
In your country	
In Eastern Europe	
In Africa	

94. Could you tell me what monthly income bracket you are located in?

€	Personal income	Household income
Less than 1500		
1501–2000		
2001–2500		
2501–3000		
3001–3500		
3501–4000		
4001–4500		
4501–5000		
5001–5500		
5501–6000		
6001–6500		
6501–7000		
7001–7500		
7501–8000		
8001–8500		
8501–9000		
9001–9500		
9501–10000		
More than 10,000		
More than 15,000		

Thank you for your collaboration.

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